

**File #:**

62-HQ-116395

**Serial Scope:**

Ⓜ NW 1192-1196x, 1198x, 1199, 1200-1200x

Released under the John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act of 1992 (44 USC 2107 Note). Case#:NW 55012 Date: 04-12-2018

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

The Attorney General

December 8, 1975

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. D. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Reference is made to my letter to you August 19, 1975, which furnished a memorandum with enclosure concerning an interview by a representative of the SSC of former FBI Special Agent George C. Moore.

Enclosed is the original of another memorandum which reports on another interview of Moore by SSC Staff Members. A copy of the memorandum is also enclosed for forwarding to Mr. James A. Wilderrotter, Associate Counsel to the President.

Enclosures (2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-14-81 BY SP-2 JPP/c

62-116395

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

1 - 67- (Personnel file former SA George C. Moore)

SFP:mjgm  
(11)

SI 105  
REC-51 62-116395-1200X

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
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- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

3 JAN 23 1976  
JAM  
5 - WRC/C  
V-5231-8  
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MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1



JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
 ATTN: Central Index

FROM:  
**FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT	BRIEFING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> X	INTERVIEW	TESTIMONY	OTHER
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12/8/75

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

The Attorney General with a copy for forwarding to the White House

SSC

HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

Memorandum reporting results of an interview by SSC Staff Members of former Special Agent George C. Moore

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

NA

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

U

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided; key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

Counterintelligence  
 Organization and staffing

62-116395-16  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10/27/01 BY SP2AUM/KP

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Interviewed regarding the Bureau's Counterintelligence program during the 1967-69 years relating to Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Black Extremists.

62-116395

FMK: fmk  
 (4)

ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
 IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75

TREAT AS YELLOW

5- April

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. R. J. Gallagher
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

**J. Stanley Pettinger**  
 Assistant Attorney General  
 Civil Rights Division

December 8, 1975

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

**MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

FDR-16  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10/21/00 BY SP2AM/K

Reference is made to your letter dated December 4, 1975, in the above caption, your reference DJ 144-72-668.

This is to confirm a telephonic communication on December 5, 1975, between Mr. Robert A. Murphy of the Department and Deputy Associate Director James B. Adams of this Bureau. Adams sought clarifying information concerning those portions of the referenced letter pertaining to "friends and associates" of King, particularly as mentioned in the summarizing statement (page two, penultimate paragraph). It was agreed between Murphy and Adams that initially, we will make available the files relating to King, his immediate family and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), as well as the file concerning the FBI's investigation of the assassination of King. In so far as "friends and associates" of King are concerned, as the review of the above-described files by the Civil Rights Division progresses, we will also make available additional files relating to "friends and associates" as the Civil Rights Division may designate and request same.

In the spirit of the completeness of your review which is so essential, we are also designating two additional files for immediate review as they contain numerous references to King, the SCLC and related matters. It was from these two files that many communications have already been furnished to the Senate and House Select Committees on Intelligence. These two files are entitled "Communist Influence in Racial Matters" and "Communist Party, USA - Negro Question."

In order to expedite your review, it is suggested that you commence with those files we maintain at our Headquarters. Meanwhile, we will solicit the necessary inventories from our field offices for your further consideration.

This matter has been designated within this Bureau as of the highest priority.

62-116395-

100-106670

1 - 62-116395 (SENSTUDY 75)

NOT RECORDED

46 DEC 17 1975

SFP:dmt

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-106670-3970



# Department of Justice

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.	_____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
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Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
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Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

FOR RELEASE AT 10:00 A.M., E.D.T.  
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1975

## STATEMENT

OF

THE HONORABLE EDWARD H. LEVI  
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

BEFORE

THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

*Copy to (law)*  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/8/00 BY SPAL/KCP

10:00 A.M.  
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1975  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

62-116-395-A

**NOT RECORDED**

46 FEB 6 1976

*KI*

*5-8*

62-116-375



84 FEB 6 1976

The Committee has asked me to talk with you today about the future of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I thought it might be helpful if I outline quite briefly some of the points I would like to make, some of the problems I think ought to be considered, and some of the steps we have taken.

The first point is that the statutory base for the operations of the Bureau cannot be said to be fully satisfactory. The basic statutory provision is 28 USC 533 which provides that the Attorney General may appoint officials "(1) to detect and prosecute crimes against the United States; (2) to assist in the protection of the President; and (3) to conduct such investigations regarding official matters under the control of the Department of Justice and the Department of State as may be directed by the Attorney General." There are other statutes, such as the Congressional Assassination, Kidnapping and Assault Act, which vest in the Bureau special responsibilities to investigate criminal violations. In addition, there are Executive orders and Presidential statements or directives which place investigatory responsibilities upon the Bureau.

A number of questions are often asked about this statutory base. It has the virtue of simplicity, but the Executive orders which deal with government employee investigations are complicated and confusing, and Presidential

memoranda or, perhaps, oral instructions from a President may be difficult to collate. I think it is important, in any case, to separate out the kinds of questions which are asked about the Bureau's authority base. Some questions are constitutional in nature, relating to the inherent power of the President; others go to the interpretation of the statutes and the relationship between the statutes and Presidential directives; others go to the failure of the statutes to define sufficiently the areas of the Bureau's jurisdiction or to spell out sufficiently--and this is partly constitutional--the means and methods which the Bureau is permitted to use in carrying out its assigned tasks.

The second point, related to the first, is a continuing discussion of the role of the Bureau in intelligence investigations or domestic security investigations. The argument is sometimes made that the Bureau's proper role, at least in purely domestic matters, should be limited to investigations of committed crimes. The basic statute for the Bureau is broader than this, as have been Executive orders and Presidential mandates to the Bureau. The basic statute is broader, since it refers to investigations regarding official matters under the control of the Department of Justice and the Department of State as may be directed by the Attorney General. A disparity is sometimes seen among the different roles of the Bureau in crime detection, in on-going domestic security matters, and in foreign intelligence or foreign counterintelligence matters. In



recent days a statement by the then Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone, who reorganized the Bureau and chose J. Edgar Hoover as its director, has been quoted as a relevant warning.

Stone warned, "There is always the possibility that a secret police may become a menace to free government and free institutions, because it carries with it the possibility of abuses of power which are not always quickly apprehended or understood .... It is important that its activities be strictly limited to the performance of those functions for which it was created and that its agents themselves be not above the law or beyond its reach .... The Bureau of Investigation is not concerned with political or other opinions of individuals. It is concerned only with their conduct and then only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States. When a police system passes beyond these limits, it is dangerous to the proper administration of justice and to human liberty, which it should be our first concern to cherish."

I should like to suggest that Stone's warning always must be considered relevant to the proper conduct of the Bureau's duties, but it does not necessarily follow that domestic security investigations are, therefore, outside the Bureau's proper functions. The detection of crime in some areas requires preparation and at least some knowledge of what is likely to be going on. What is at issue, I think,

is the proper scope, the means and methods used, the attention paid to conduct and not views, and the closeness of the relationship of the conduct and that which is forbidden by the laws of the United States.

Third, I realize that some proposals, since I was asked about this when I last appeared before this Committee, might separate out in some fashion domestic and foreign intelligence functions from the FBI or from one another within the FBI. This is, of course, an issue to be looked at. I assume it is recognized that there may be some relationship between that intelligence which is domestic and that intelligence which is involved in foreign counterintelligence work. One may lead to the other. And there may be a relationship between foreign counterintelligence and foreign intelligence. If the work were separated out into different agencies, I do not know if the decision about when an investigation should pass from one agency to another always could be made easily. Moreover, even so, information presumably would pass from one agency to the other. I know that one consideration has been that it might be decided that information collected by some permitted means in intelligence investigations under some circumstances should not be used in criminal prosecutions. But if there is an exchange of information, this must always be a consideration, whether there are separate agencies or not, and the basic question then is one

of use and not organization. The more active concern, I believe, is that there is a risk that conduct proper for one area may be improper for another, and that the combination can work a contamination. My view on this is that in any case we must decide what conduct is appropriate and is inappropriate for each of the areas, and we must take steps to make sure that proper conduct is lived up to. My hope is that the fact that the FBI has criminal investigative responsibilities, which must be conducted within the confines of constitutional protections strictly enforced by the courts, gives the organization an awareness of the interests of individual liberties that might be missing in an agency devoted solely to intelligence work. I know the argument can be run the other way. I believe the dangers are greater if there is separation.

Fourth, there is a question as to the proper role of the FBI in crime prevention and whether or not it should be considered authorized to take steps under some circumstances to reduce the likelihood that crimes will be committed or that serious injury to persons or property will occur. Preventive action has raised serious questions and these must be dealt with. I suppose an initial question is whether it should be allowed at all. Yet I believe under special circumstances and with proper controls most would believe this to be a proper function.

Fifth, the problem of proper controls, supervision and accountability is all-embracing. By statute the Federal Bureau of Investigation is in the Department of Justice, and also by statute the Attorney General is the head of the Department of Justice. The history is mixed, of course, and we all have a tendency to over-simplify, but it is a fair statement that there have been times in the past when the supervision by Attorneys General, granted that the Bureau must have considerable autonomy, has been sporadic, practically nonexistent, or ineffective. I hope that is not the case now. The responsibility is a heavy one. But in any event the problem of proper controls, supervision and accountability goes beyond the Director of the Bureau and the Attorney General. I have already mentioned that in my view the statutory base for the operations of the Bureau cannot be said to be fully satisfactory. I think that better controls and performance can be achieved through statutory means, executive orders, guidelines, and reporting to appropriate congressional committees.

Sixth, before I come to a resume of some of the steps which have been taken, let me say I know we all realize that in the past there have been grave abuses. I am uncomfortable with a kind of writing of history, however, which sees it only in terms of the abuses and not in terms of past and present strength. It is very difficult to be fair to the past in which many institutions of government carried a share of responsibility. But more than unfairness is involved. If we are not careful, we will turn to solutions of the moment which a better reading of history might indicate are not the best solutions. I know we must seize the moment, if I may use such a phrase in this setting. I know also that this Committee realizes that a very important agency with dedicated, highly professional, greatly disciplined government servants is involved. The importance is to the security and domestic tranquility of the United States. Stone's warning was given in an act of creation. He was proud of his creation. In spite of the abuses, there is a proper place for pride. I take it our mutual work should be to nurture that pride and the conditions which justify it.

I turn now to a review of some of the steps which have been taken or are in progress. We have tried most diligently, under safeguards to protect the privacy of individuals and with an awareness of the unfairness of instant history to give a great deal of information to Congressional committees. Attorney General Saxbe made public and Deputy Attorney General Silberman and Director Kelley testified about the so-called COINTELPRO. When the FBI discovered evidence of several more COINTELPRO projects after I

became Attorney General, these were revealed. One of my first acts as Attorney General, my third week in office, was to testify before a Congressional committee about possible incidents of political misuse of the FBI by the White House in the past and about the nature of FBI file-keeping systems, particularly the files kept by Director Hoover in his office suite. Director Kelley has spoken publicly and before congressional committees about incidents in the past in which FBI agents engaged in break-ins to gather or photograph physical evidence in intelligence investigations. On a number of occasions, most recently in testimony before this Committee, I have described the history of the use of electronic surveillance by the FBI. We have welcomed such opportunities.

On February 26, 1975, I instructed Director Kelley to report to me any requests made of the Bureau, or practices within the Bureau, which he deems improper or which present the appearance of impropriety. On February 28, 1975, Director Kelley ordered FBI personnel to report such requests or practices to him. In July, 1975, I reaffirmed my February directive and also asked for a report of all sensitive investigative practices. The Director promptly complied. Director Kelley has regularly provided information on conduct by Bureau agents and programs underway within the Bureau that could raise questions. These matters have been reviewed and discussed within the Department so that a consistent and appropriate policy can be achieved. This is a continuing process. I do not assert that we are aware of everything about the Bureau. Nor do I suggest that we ought to know everything. Appropriate

communication, consultation and supervision at this level have to be selective. I make this point, which I think may sound disconcerting, not in any way to minimize the responsibility of the Bureau to keep the Department informed nor to minimize the Department's duty to find out. Rather I want to be realistic about a learning and organization problem which requires realism if it is to be understood and perfected.

With respect to possible legislation, the Department has in preparation various drafts of possible bills which may be of assistance in the area of what is now warrantless electronic surveillance. Although obtaining a judicial warrant does not automatically eradicate the possibility of abuse, it is perceived to be an important safeguard of individual privacy interests, and we are exploring, as we said we would do, various possibilities and alternatives.

Finally, a committee within the Department of Justice -- chaired by Mary Lawton, Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Office of Legal Counsel, and composed of representatives of my office, the Criminal and Civil Rights Divisions, the Office of Policy and Planning, and the FBI -- has been working for eight months reviewing FBI procedures in many areas and drafting guidelines to govern those procedures in the future. The Committee has produced draft guidelines covering White House inquiries, congressional and judicial staff appointment investigations, unsolicited mail, and domestic security investigations. It is currently at work on guidelines covering counterespionage investigations and will later consider the use of informants, the employee loyalty program, organized crime intelligence investigations, criminal investigations, and other aspects of FBI practice. The Committee's work has been extensive and time-consuming. It has involved not only questions of proper safeguards but also of efficiency in the proper functioning of the Bureau. It has been an effort to translate into words the complicated and important mechanisms for controlling the FBI. I hope the Committee's efforts at articulation will be of use to this Committee and others as it considers drafting legislation.

You have received copies of the latest drafts of the guidelines that have been substantially completed by the Committee. These guidelines do not yet represent Department policy. There is disagreement within the Department on some aspects of these guidelines. I have disagreed with the Committee recommendations.



from time to time, and the FBI has raised substantial questions about other recommendations--particularly with respect to the treatment of unsolicited mail. Some of the proposals in the guidelines could be promulgated as departmental regulations. Congress may feel some ought to be enacted into statutory law. Other provisions would require implementation by executive order.

I would be glad to discuss these draft guidelines with you in detail in response to your questions, but a brief discussion of the guidelines on domestic security may be useful at the outset.

The guidelines begin by attempting to impose some order and definiteness to the domestic security field. To begin with, these guidelines do not deal with FBI efforts to counteract the work of foreign intelligence services operating within the United States. Standards for determining when there is foreign involvement sufficient to place a subject in the category of foreign counterintelligence investigation are now being debated within the guidelines committee. The domestic security guidelines also are not meant to cover security or background investigations of federal appointees or investigations of ordinary crimes. Under the draft guidelines, domestic security investigations are only to be authorized when there is a likelihood that the activities of individuals or groups involve or will involve the use of force or violence in violation of federal law. Domestic security investigations are to be limited to activities of individuals or groups intended to accomplish one of five purposes: overthrowing the government of the United States or of a State; interfering with the activities within the United States of foreign governments

or their representatives; influencing government policies by interfering by force or violence with government functions or interstate commerce; depriving individuals of their civil rights; and creating domestic violence or rioting when such violence or rioting would necessitate as a countermeasure the use of Federal armed forces. There is also a provision for limited investigation when there is a clear and immediate threat of domestic violence which is likely to result in a request by a state for Federal armed assistance.

Currently there is no procedure requiring the review outside the FBI of all domestic intelligence investigations conducted by the FBI, though the FBI has a long-standing policy of reporting its investigative findings to the Criminal Division. Under the draft guidelines there would be a comprehensive program of reporting to the Attorney General or his designee of all preliminary and full domestic intelligence investigations. The Attorney General would be required under the draft guidelines to put a stop to any full investigation whose justification did not meet an established standard. The standard would be that there must be specific and articulable facts giving reason to believe that the individual or group under investigation is engaged in the activities I have just listed.

Another feature of the draft guidelines is to place strict controls upon the use of any technique by the FBI which goes beyond the gathering of information. COINTELPRO was the name given the use of some such techniques. As I have said before, some of the activities in COINTELPRO were outrageous and the others were foolish. Nonetheless, there may be circum-

stances involving an immediate risk to human life or to extraordinarily important government functions that could only be countered by some sort of preventive action. The guidelines require that any such preventive action proposal be submitted to the Attorney General. He could authorize the preventive action only when there is probable cause to believe that the violence is imminent and when such measures are necessary to minimize the danger to life or property. The preventive action would in all cases have to be nonviolent. The Attorney General would be required to report to Congress periodically and no less often than once a year on the use of preventive action by the FBI.

I make no claim that during this rather difficult but interesting and--I must trust--promising period we have achieved all that might have been possible. In many ways the work has been disappointingly slow. But I do think we have made advances in nurturing and helping to improve a structure which will be supportive of the best efforts of the men and women in the Department of Justice and in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. No procedures are fail-safe against abuse. The best protection remains the quality and professionalism of the members of the Bureau and of the Department.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall *Wannall*

FROM : W. O. Cregar *WOC/B*

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. H. N. Bassett  
(Attn: J. A. Conley)

DATE: 12/8/75

- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan *Wannall*
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Asst. Dir.:

- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

This informative memorandum is to record a matter of particular interest which was discussed at a conference 12/3/75, attended by Deputy Associate Director J. B. Adams, Assistant Director W. R. Wannall, and Supervisors D. Ryan and S. F. Phillips of the Intelligence Division, with Assistant Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh and Criminal Division Attorneys Kevin Maroney and Phil White in Thornburgh's office.

Thornburgh evinced an interest in the recent extensive publicity generated by the media concerning the Senate Select Committee's (SSC) "exposure" at public hearings of the alleged mailing in 1964 to Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., of a tape recording and anonymous letter concerning her husband. You will recall that a key item in the "exposure" was the anonymous letter, the original typing of which was found earlier this year among personal papers left behind by former Assistant to the Director William C. Sullivan when he retired. For ready reference, a copy of that letter is attached to the enclosure of instant memorandum.

In response to Thornburgh's interest, Phillips furnished a rather detailed summary of facts and recollections, using as a "pony" a Work Paper. In making reference to the Work Paper, Phillips merely indicated that he set down in writing some notes which he felt were pertinent and then proceeded to brief the conferees from the notes of our Work Paper. A copy of that Work Paper, dated 4/29/75, is attached.

Enclosures

62-116395

1 - 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

SFP:1hb<sup>1/2</sup>(9)

**ENCLOSURE**

ST-110

REC-30

DEC 19 1975

CONTINUED - OVER

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

84 DEC 19 1975

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 DATE 6/26/80 BY SP-3/BK/ale

UNREC COPY FILED IN 100-106670-71

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: Senstudy 75  
62-116395

A very significant factor which emerges from the Work Paper is that the person who was the architect of the mailing to Mrs. King of a tape and anonymous letter was undoubtedly Sullivan. It was pointed out by Phillips that in the SSC public hearings on 11/18/75, the SSC Staff entered into the record a denial of Sullivan of knowing anything about the anonymous letter and Sullivan's claim that it was a "plant." Phillips pointed out the unfairness on the part of the SSC in entering only that portion of Sullivan's "testimony" to the SSC and that the SSC did not put on the record anything else which Sullivan may have said concerning the mailing of the tape and anonymous letter. (It should be parenthetically noted that there is very strong indication from information we have, particularly from former Special Agent Lish Whitson, that Sullivan has told the SSC, either directly or indirectly, of some part he\*had played in the mailings.)

\*Sullivan

It was also strongly emphasized to the conferees that, notwithstanding the efforts of the SSC and the media, the aforementioned anonymous mailings should not be placed in the same category as the various official COINTELPRO-type activities the Bureau engaged in in an effort to discredit King. It was urged that the tape and letter mailings must be viewed as the work of a single individual not officially approved or condoned by any higher authority in the FBI.

At the end of Phillips' briefing, Thornburgh inquired as to what part former Assistant to the Director Alan H. Belmont played in these anonymous mailings and what knowledge he might have of them. Phillips responded that other than the two situations referred to in the Work Paper-- and these did not necessarily involve Belmont--Phillips knew of no Belmont involvement or awareness. The two situations

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: Senstudy 75  
62-116395

referred to are: (1) Delivery in 1964 to either Belmont or former Assistant to the Director DeLoach of a package at instructions of Sullivan, which package may have contained the tape; (2) Delivery of the tape by former Special Agent John M. Matter in 1964 to Sullivan in Belmont's office with Belmont present, but not necessarily with Belmont's awareness of what was being delivered. These two incidents are discussed on pages 4 and 5 of the Work Paper.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information and record purposes.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "Matter", "DeLoach", "Sullivan", "Wannall", and "K"]*

April 29, 1975

WORK PAPER

Recollections of  
SA Seymour Fred Phillips

RE: THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CASE

Three recent significant events suggest that I now reduce to writing by this informal Work Paper, certain of my recollections of events which occurred about 10 years ago when I supervised at Headquarters the FBI investigation of Martin Luther King, Jr. It is emphasized that these are mere recollections and they should be viewed in that light. To set the stage for these recollections, the following are the three significant events of reference:

(1) On Sunday, 1/26/75, I was called into the office to assist in a "special" being coordinated by the Inspection Division, one aspect of which related to the King case. I, accompanied by J. G. Deegan, Section Chief, IS-1 Section, INCD, was instructed to obtain an inventory<sup>a</sup>/drawer full of folders pertaining to King then being maintained in a cabinet in a room adjoining Mr. J. B. Adams' office. We learned that the material in question had been maintained by former Assistant to the Director W. C. Sullivan and was left behind upon his retirement. In the inventorying of this material, which was primarily handled by P. E. Nugent of IS-1 Section (I having been redirected to another phase of the "special"), there was noted a document which I considered at the time of extreme significance.

The document involved (Xerox attached) is the original of what appears to be an undated letter addressed merely "King." It has no signature or other indication of the author. The letter indicates it is written by a Negro and suggests strongly that the letter is intended as a cover communication as evidenced by the following quotation therein, "Lend your sexually psychotic ear to the enclosure." Other language in

Enclosure

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DATE 6/26/80 BY SP3 DB/ku

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

12-11-37 - 1200



the letter reveals the writer to be referring to personal misconduct of a sexual nature and that recordings of same are available.

(It might parenthetically be noted at this point that even though the communication found is an original typing, it is my belief that if such a letter was intended to be sent anonymously to King by Sullivan, it would have been very logical to have prepared the letter with a carbon copy and that copy used as the cover communication for any enclosure, thus minimizing the likelihood of tracing through typewriter examination.)

(2) "The New York Times," 3/9/75, carried a lengthy article about the FBI investigation of King and included many allegations concerning technical coverage of King. Highlighted in the article is a claim that the FBI anonymously mailed to Mrs. King a tape depicting King's personal life adversely. The article claimed that a "former high FBI official" had brought the matter to the attention of "The New York Times" and asked to remain anonymous. Article alleged that in late 1964 a copy of a tape recording was made by the FBI Laboratory, wrapped in a small, plain unmarked package with no return address, and delivered to Sullivan's office. Allegedly, it was addressed to Mrs. King in Atlanta, Georgia. Another source described as "attached to the Bureau at the time" said he believed the recording was of a party held by King and others in the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C. The article went on to state that the tape and package had been prepared so as to not be traceable and that Mr. Hoover wanted the tape mailed from somewhere in Florida. Sullivan ordered a Special Agent (SA) to fly to Tampa and mail the tape to Mrs. King, the source stressing that the SA had no idea of the contents. Article went on to state that Mrs. King said in a telephone interview (time not disclosed) that she recalled receiving a tape recording in 1/65 and that she and her husband had listened to it and found much of it unintelligible.

The appearance of the foregoing newspaper article caused me to do certain research in our files in an effort to determine whether or not we had any information to substantiate or dispute the allegations. We found that there was no information in Bureau files to confirm that a tape was mailed by Bureau



JFK Law 10(a)1

So much for the three matters of significance related above which now make important the occurrences of events about 10 years ago which are as follows:

I was in my office in what was then the Internal Security Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division (DID) in the Riddell Building, 1730 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. My office was directly across the hall from the office of W. C. Sullivan, then Assistant Director of the DID. Some of my coworkers were also present as we were engaged in some special work on the King case and related matters. This incident was on a Saturday.

Sometime during the morning Sullivan came into my office and asked me for some unwatermarked stationery. I secured some from my secretary's desk and after checking it through the light, I offered it to Sullivan. He asked me if I was absolutely certain that the paper was unwatermarked. I assured him that it was and he took it into his private office. Sometime later that morning he telephoned me for the address of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and may also have asked me for King's home address in Atlanta, although my recollection of the latter is not as clear as the former. I procured the address or addresses, jotted them on a piece of paper and hand carried them into Sullivan's private office. He seemed to be busily at work at a typewriter on a stand next to his desk. I gave him the address or addresses and again he asked me if I was absolutely certain that the stationery I had given him was unwatermarked. My assurance to him was reiterated once again.

Some time later, I would estimate around noon, Sullivan called me into his office and handed me a sealed manila envelope which appeared contained something other than written matter as it was a solid package. He gave me a sum of money and asked that I have one of the men working with me immediately take the package by cab to the Justice Building and hand it over to Al Belmont (then Assistant to the Director). I feel quite certain that it was Belmont to whom the package was to be delivered but I would not discount completely

the possibility that it may have been Cartha DeLoach to whom it was to be delivered. I remember that one of the men working with me wanted to go downtown to do some shopping and it thus was convenient to have him perform the courier chore dictated by Sullivan.

At approximately the same point in time that the above event occurred, at Sullivan's direction, I arranged to gather into one place all the tapes we had of microphone coverage we had been conducting on King. All these tapes originated in various field offices and we had those mailed to the Bureau. Some that had already been mailed in were being maintained by Records. It was my task to gather all tapes from the field and those in Records and have them in one place. While they were technically charged to Sullivan and for the record being retained in Sullivan's office, as a practical matter, I was maintaining these tapes in my office across the hall from Sullivan's office. Among the tapes I was accumulating were some which for a short period of time were in the hands of SA John M. Matter (then a supervisor in the Radio Engineering Section of the Laboratory, now retired). I remember Matter telling me that he had been instructed on a very confidential basis to perform a particular task relating to some of the tapes we had. I am not now sure as to who gave him the instructions but I am quite certain that it was likely to have been Sullivan, with an outside possibility that he may have got his instructions from Belmont. His own instructions concerned making some composite tapes and he sent over to me several reels with labels showing they were "edited composite" highlighting reels of tape from WFO and Los Angeles. Because of the very confidential nature of Matter's assignment I, of course, did not query him other than in respect to the following. From the labels on these tapes I gathered there were a specific number that he had prepared and it appeared to me that the number he sent me was one or two short of the number I had prepared. I was unable to get any exact accounting from Matter concerning the shortage.

Sometime shortly thereafter, I obtained the information discussed under number two above concerning a conversation 1/5/65 between King and an assistant indicating that a tape had been

mailed to King. When I learned this information, it appeared likely to me that if a tape had been mailed to King it might be the one which appeared to be "missing." I had an occasion at that time to bring to Matter's attention what I had learned from the overhear in Atlanta and I suggested that this was perhaps the answer to the "missing" tape. Still maintaining the confidentiality of the sensitive assignment that had been entrusted to him, Matter made no affirmative or informative replies to my suspicions but rather smiled "knowingly." As far as I was concerned at the time, we had something of an implied meeting of the minds and I was personally convinced, though I had no hard evidence to support my conviction, that Sullivan had some greater part in mailing a tape to King. I might add that I didn't at that time conceive of any communication being sent with the tape. The finding of the document discussed under number one above of course changed my thinking relative to a cover communication accompanying the mailing of the tape.

The foregoing represents my best recollections at this time on these matters.

I might also use this Work Paper to set out some further observation, for whatever value it might be.

The document addressed to King, a copy of which is attached, contains a statement in the closing paragraph "King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 34 days in which to do (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason, it has definite practical significance). You are done. There is but one way out for you." I have often wondered what the significance of the 34 days quoted was. When I learned of Whitson's mission on 11/21/64 I used that date as a starting point. Thirty-four days after 11/21/64 was 12/25/64, Christmas Day. Recognizing King's position as a man of the cloth and having many, many times heard Sullivan decry King as a hypocrite because of his immoral activities although a preacher, it occurred to me that in Sullivan's mind he was probably trying to direct King's attention to Christmas Day.

KING,

In view of your low grade, abnormal personal behavior I will not dignify your name with either a Mr. or a Reverend or a Dr. And, your last name calls to mind only the type of King such as King Henry the VIII and his countless acts of adultery and immoral conduct lower than that of a beast.

King, look into your heart. You know you are a complete fraud and a great liability to all of us Negroes. White people in this country have enough frauds of their own but I am sure they don't have one at this time that is any where near your equal. You are no clergyman and you know it. I repeat you are a colossal fraud and an evil, vicious one at that. You could not believe in God and act as you do. Clearly you don't believe in any personal moral principles.

King, like all frauds your end is approaching. You could have been our greatest leader. You, even at an early age have turned out to be not a leader but a dissolute, abnormal moral imbecile. We will now have to depend on our older leaders like Wilkins a man of character and thank God we have others like him. But you are done. Your "honorary" degrees, your Nobel Prize (what a grim farce) and other awards will not save you. King, I repeat you are done.

No person can overcome facts, not even a fraud like yourself. Lend your mentally psychotic ear to the enclosure. You will find yourself and in all your dirt, filth, evil and moronic talk exposed on the record for all time. I repeat - no person can argue successfully against facts. You are finished. You will find on the record for all time your filthy, dirty, evil companions, male and females giving expression with you to your hideous abnormalities. And some of them to pretend to be ministers of the Gospel. Satan could not do more. What incredible evilness. It is all there on the record, your sexual orgies. Listen to yourself you filthy, abnormal animal. You are on the record. You have been on the record - all your adulterous acts, your sexual orgies extending far into the past. This one is but a tiny sample. You will understand this. Yes, from your various evil playmates on the east coast to Dolores Evans and others on the west coast and outside the country you are on the record. King you are done.

The American public, the church organizations that have been helping - Protestant, Catholic and Jews will know you for what you are - an evil, abnormal beast. So will others who have backed you. You are done.

King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 34 days in which to do (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason, it has definite practical significance). You are done. There is but one way out for you. You better take it before your filthy, abnormal fraudulent self is bared to the nation.

ENCLOSURE

62-11639-1200

- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. P. E. Nugent

62-116395

December 1, 1975

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Reference is made to SSC letter dated November 12, 1975, containing requests for materials concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

Pursuant to request in paragraph one of referenced SSC letter, on November 17, 1975, a Special Agent of this Bureau, in the presence of SSC Staff Member Andrew Postal, reviewed the file of Martin Luther King, Jr., and related files for the months of November and December, 1964, for materials pertinent to the SSC inquiry not previously requested. Materials being furnished herewith which are designated as Item 1 are those documents requested by Postal as a result of this review.

During the review, Postal indicated a desire to have copies of all materials designated as Item 1. It was pointed out that a substantial number of these had been previously furnished the Committee in connection with other requests. Postal indicated, however, that he was generally unfamiliar with prior materials furnished in connection with the King case and was desirous of obtaining all items he selected, even though many might duplicate earlier FBI submissions.

Although there appears to be no real justification for duplicate submissions, in view of Postal's specific request, and in the spirit of cooperation with the SSC, the requested documents are being furnished despite the fact that a number of the documents have previously been made available to the SSC.

Materials designated Item 2 are being furnished in response to request set forth in paragraph two of referenced SSC letter of November 12, 1975.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

PEN:adn adn  
(8)

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

ORIGINAL AND ONE TO AG

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

**ENCLOSURE**

GPO : 1975 O - 569-920

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10/18/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

153 716395- WRW/AL 836 WOC/B PWS/PEN  
 1199  
 ATTACHED



SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

A search of the Martin Luther King, Jr., and related files failed to result in the positive identification of material prepared by the Domestic Intelligence Division subsequent to April 23, 1964, in refutation of Martin Luther King's statement to the press in San Francisco, California, on April 23, 1964, referred to in Mr. Sullivan's memorandum that date to Mr. Belmont captioned "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters IS-C" delivered herewith.

It may be surmised, however, that a document under preparation in the then Domestic Intelligence Division in April, 1964, entitled "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters," represents the material referred to in Mr. Sullivan's memorandum of April 23, 1964. That document is a lengthy work paper which was periodically brought up to date to show every facet of information available regarding communist influence in the racial movement and does contain information in refutation of King's statement of April 23, 1964, which in essence challenged the FBI to provide evidence regarding the communist infiltration in the racial movement. A copy of this document was furnished the SSC by memorandum dated October 6, 1975.

With respect to the excisions in materials being delivered herewith, where no notations appear as to reason for excision, the excision was made for the reason that the information actually summarizes or quotes from conversations monitored during electronic surveillances of King. In some cases, it can be ascertained precisely what information in FBI files came from electronic surveillances of King; however, there exist areas where documentation of the information is not precise and no accurate determination can be made. Therefore, no assurances can be given that portions of the materials being furnished do not contain information developed as a result of electronic surveillances of King.

1 - The Attorney General



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

NOV 14 1975

*Mugent*

TO: John A. Mintz, Assistant Director  
Legal Counsel Division  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

*M.E.*

FROM: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for Intelligence  
Coordination

SUBJECT: Senate Select Committee Request

Attached is a November 12, 1975, letter from the Senate Select Committee requesting certain information concerning the Martin Luther King matter during the months of November and December 1964. Please prepare an appropriate response.

cc: Paul Daly

~~ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALM/KP~~

*Letter to AG, cc DAK  
sent 11/17/75  
SF of adm*

*5-PD 11/17/75*

*1-AD Hae  
11-17-75*

*62-116395-1199*

ENCLOSURE



FRANK CHURCH, DAHO, CHAIRMAN  
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RICHARD S. SCHLESINGER, PA.

# United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 27, 87TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 12, 1975

WILLIAM G. MILLER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARZ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL  
CURTIS R. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNSEL

Michael E. Shaheen, Jr., Esq.  
Office of the Deputy Attorney General  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mr. Shaheen:

In connection with the King matter and our forthcoming hearings next week, we need to have a complete understanding of all actions, decisions, proposals, recommendations and operations of FBI personnel with respect to Dr. King during the months of November and December 1964. Accordingly, I would appreciate your asking the Bureau to designate a representative who can go through the FBI files for those months relating to King with Mr. Epstein of our staff sometime this week. In the event that the November-December 1964 portions of the files contain materials pertinent to our inquiry, but which we have not yet requested, I trust that it will be acceptable to you for such materials to be designated by Mr. Epstein at the time of the review for delivery to the Committee.

I would also appreciate your making available this week all memoranda and other materials reflecting proposals made or actions taken which pertain to the handwritten note which appears on the bottom of the 4/23/64 memorandum from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont captioned "Martin Luther King" (serial #352), to wit: "4/23 DA 6 pm I told him we are working up materials as to what action should be taken and what reply should be made. He agreed."

Your continued cooperation is appreciated.

Sincerely,

John T. Elliff  
Director  
Domestic Intelligence Task Force

~~ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALM/MP~~

ENCLOSURE 62-116385-1199

5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

LTR  LHM  Memo  Report dated 12/1/75

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE.  
Caption of Document:

11/12/75 request

Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by: Richard T. Taylor Date: 12/4/75 <sup>30</sup><sub>12-7</sub>

Received by: Lynsey Oster  
Title: clerk

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AUM/EP~~

ENCLOSURE

6.2 - 385 - 1199

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:  
**FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT     BRIEFING     INTERVIEW     TESTIMONY     OTHER

**12/1/75**

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SSC
<input type="checkbox"/>	HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum and enclosures**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**SSC letter 11/12/75**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**S**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Information handling  
Surveillance, electronic**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Materials relating to Martin Luther King, Jr., as they pertain to the months November-December of 1964. These materials were reviewed by a Special Agent in the presence of an SSC Staff Member for materials pertinent to the SSC inquiry not previously requested.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/1/02 BY SP2AMK

62-116395

FMK: fmk  
(4)

**ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75**

**TREAT AS YELLOW**

*Sign*

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

SSC LETTER 11-12-75

ITEM 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AMK

*Return*

*See 1199*

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ACM/KP

*DELETED to protect identity of*  
Legat, London (100-3329) *Friendly foreign country* 1 - J. F. Bland  
12/21/64

Director, FBI (100-106670) *6-28*  
REC-34

PERSONAL ATTENTION

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner (Field Supervision)
- 1 - M. Gregorio
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

Reurairtel 12/10/64 which furnished information concerning the activities of Martin Luther King, Jr., and a representative of his, Bayard Rustin, while abroad. Considerable valuable intelligence is contained in reairtel. For example, it is reported that Rustin was in contact with Rica Hodgeson and Esme Goldberg. Hodgeson and Goldberg are described, according to a source, as "openly declared communists." It is also reported that King specifically asked that Dr. David Pitt be present at a particular meeting. Pitt is described as a Trotskyite. Rustin's contact with Committee for Democratic Rights in America is also reported. Refer to your file 100-2301. It appears that you may be able to appropriately characterize this organization.

Pertinent disseminatable information should have been submitted by letterhead memorandum (LHM). Your attention is directed to Bulet 1/24/64 to Legat, Bern, copy designated for your Office, "Legal Attache Reporting." Your attention was directed to certain Bureau Manual instructions and specifically to the undesirable tendency on the part of some Legats to fail to report investigative results in LHM form, even though the material obviously necessitated dissemination.

By return communication submit an LHM incorporating the positive intelligence concerning associations of King and Rustin with subversives.

Foregoing instructions must be ever borne in mind in your day-to-day handling of intelligence of interest to the Bureau which obviously will require dissemination.

SFP:jad  
(7) *jad*

REC-11 2506670

MAILED 30  
DEC 18 1964  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Ways*  
DEC 20 1964

*Handwritten signature*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

SECRET  
FBI

Date: 12/10/64 REC-34  
*APZ*

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)  
FROM: LEGAT, ~~LONDON~~ (100-3329) (P)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C

Remyairtel 11/25/64. *officials and country*

*All excisions to protect identity of friendly Foreign Intelligence Agents*

In accordance with Bureau instructions, I personally furnished orally to Ambassador TIBBETTS, American Embassy, Oslo information concerning subject. This was done on 11/30/64. Miss TIBBETTS stated she was most appreciative of this information and that she would take no action whatsoever which might disclose her knowledge of such. She said that she was giving a small reception for KING and his group on the evening of 12/9/64. He is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize on 12/10/64. On the evening of 12/11/64 the Ambassador is giving a formal reception for KING, the Nobel Committee and Norwegian Government officials.

On 12/2/64 I furnished orally the same information to U.S. Ambassador PARSONS, American Embassy, Stockholm, Sweden. Ambassador PARSONS expressed his appreciation for the Bureau furnishing this information to him. He stated he had originally intended to meet KING on his arrival at the Airport in Stockholm on 12/12/64. He said this was somewhat unusual in that he normally does not meet this type of group. After reflection he stated he would not personally go to the airport but would send a representative from the Embassy. According to Ambassador PARSONS, KING was to preach at a local church in Stockholm and then was to meet with a student group.

On 12/5/64 I furnished the same information, orally, to U.S. Ambassador WHITE in Copenhagen, Denmark. Mrs. WHITE was also appreciative of the information and commented it was very helpful to know this, even though she would take no specific action as a result of it. She was planning to give a small reception for Dr. KING while he was in Copenhagen.

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison (sent direct)
- 3 - London (100-3329, 100-1535, 134-28)

REC-34

*1 cc 808 RB  
100-156170-638*

CWB:vw  
Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

DEC 26 1964

cc Wick Special Agent in Charge

SECRET

SUBV CONTROL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

MDR-16  
CLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KP  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1

This document is exempt from release to you request and is not for dissemination to you. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to you. It and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency without the express approval of the FBI.

*id to London  
replied 12/2/64*

SECRET

London 100-3329

Newspaper clippings regarding subject are being forwarded to the Bureau separately.

On 11/25/64 British Security Service, MI-5, advised that BAYARD RUSTIN had remained in London only a short time and had departed for New York on 11/14/64. According to MI-5, RUSTIN had been in contact with a group known as Christian Action. This is a group headed by Canon COLLINS, who also heads the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament. Christian Action opposes apartheid in South Africa. According to MI-5 there are South African Communists in the movement. (S)

On 11/25/64 VICTOR DOLLING (Bufile 134-12282) advised that RUSTIN had been in contact with COLLINS and had arranged for KING to speak at a Christian Action meeting on 12/7/64 in London. DOLLING also informed that while RUSTIN was in London he was in touch with ESME GOLDBERG, whose husband received a life sentence in South Africa for anti-apartheid acts. RUSTIN also saw RICA HODGESON. According to DOLLING, HODGESON and GOLDBERG are openly declared Communists. DOLLING stated RUSTIN was also in contact with the Committee for Democratic Rights in America. RUSTIN met RAYMOND KUNERE, who is a member of the African National Congress. (S)

On 12/8/64 DOLLING reported that he attended the Christian Action meeting where KING spoke on 12/7/64. This meeting was covered by American TV and radio people. There was a large crowd. Prominent at this meeting were PEGGY DUFF, who represents the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (DUFF was mentioned in Bucab 11/10/64). Also present at the meeting was Dr. AMBROSE REEVES, the Bishop of Johannesburg. According to DOLLING, KING specifically asked that Dr. DAVID PITT, a West Indian, be at the meeting. PITT represents the Afro-Caribbean Association and according to DOLLING, is a Trotskyite. (S)

DOLLING also stated that after the meeting a middle-aged American inquired as to the cost of hiring the hall. When told how much it was, this American wrote out a check for the full amount. DOLLING attempted to look at the check to identify the American but was unable to do so. (S)

We are checking further with MI-5 for any pertinent information which they may have obtained regarding subject's visit to England. The Bureau will be kept advised. (S)

-2-

SECRET



**SECRET**

SAC, Atlanta (100-5586)

12/11/64

Director, FBI (100-106670)

- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Rushing
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Mr. Coakley

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

ReBullets 11/9/64, 12/7/64 and 12/10/64. (S)

The Bureau has reconsidered instructions set forth in referenced 12/7/64 letter that the data from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) regarding King's alleged meeting with members of the Italian Communist Party and Socialist Party in Italy in September, 1964, be included in an investigative report with the source evaluated as "unreliable." The prime reason for these instructions was to correct the previous characterization given CIA of its source, which was "of questionable reliability." (S)

In this respect, the Bureau assumes that neither Atlanta nor New York has disseminated this information. However, if such dissemination has been made, the Bureau should be furnished with full details and appropriate communication should be forwarded to the recipients in order to show CIA's revised evaluation of its source. If no such dissemination has been made, this data should be clearly marked in your files to show that no dissemination should be made unless this information is verified through independent sources and/or investigation. (S)

1 - New York (100-136585)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

# MDR-16  
CLASSIFIED BY SP2ALM/KR  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X J

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. It is intended to official proceedings by you. It is not to be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

GDC:mlf  
(8)

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COMM-FBI

100-106670-604

69 DEC 16 1964  
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**SECRET**

December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AM/CP

My dear Mr. President:

In response to his request to see me, I conferred for about an hour with the Reverend Martin Luther King in my office yesterday afternoon. He was accompanied by the following members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which he is President: Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, Treasurer; Andrew J. Young, Program Director; and Walter E. Fauntroy, Director of the organization's Washington, D. C., office.

The meeting was most amicable and King indicated that he had requested to see me in an effort to clear up any misunderstandings that we might have. He apologized for remarks attributed to him criticizing the FBI and me with specific reference to Albany, Georgia. He stated that in this connection he had either been misquoted or there had been an outright misrepresentation.

He said that while some Negroes have complained to him that the FBI has been ineffective in investigating civil rights violations, he personally discounts such complaints and said he appreciated the fine work the FBI has been doing in this regard.

He said he had been critical of the FBI only in connection with instances where our Agents, who had been furnished complaints involving police brutality, were, thereafter, observed

- 1 - Mr. Belmont (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Miss Gandy (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Miss Holmes (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Rosen (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Jones (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Morrell (Sent with cover memo)

NOTE: See DeLoach to Mohr Memo of same date, captioned "Martin Luther King, Appointment with Director, 3:35 p. m., 12/2/64"

GTO:blh and smg (11)

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
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Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

56 DEC 21 1964

TELETYPE UNIT

EX 109

DEC 16 1964

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## The President

being friendly toward these same officers. He said situations like this serve to breed Negro distrust for the FBI. I advised Reverend King that I was aware that allegations of this nature had been made and that I had looked into the matter. It was determined that these charges were without basis.

Reverend King categorically denied ever having made a personal attack on me and also denied that he had ever instructed Negroes not to cooperate with the FBI. I told him that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI, the solution of cases is delayed and sometimes frustrated. He said, to the contrary, he encouraged such cooperation. He explained that Negroes in many areas are frustrated. He said he feels it is his duty to keep them from expressing their frustrations through violence. Reverend King made reference to my report to you on the rioting that took place in some of our northern cities last summer. He indicated he considers it an excellent analysis of the situation.

Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement was discussed. Reverend King stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism and that he shared my concern with the problem. He described communism as a "crippling, totalitarian disease." He said that while there are "one or two" former communists currently engaged in fund-raising activities for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, he does not tolerate communists in his organization. He cited the communist background of Hunter Pitts O'Dell and noted that he considered the success of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference more important to him than his friendship with O'Dell. Consequently, he claimed, O'Dell is no longer associated with his organization.

## The President

The problems confronting the FBI in civil rights investigations were explained to the Reverend King in detail. I made it clear to him that cases developed as a result of FBI investigation must often be tried in local courts where there are difficulties involved in getting white juries to convict white defendants in connection with civil rights matters. I cited some of our experiences in this regard.

He and his associates were advised of the recent conferences held for local law enforcement officers throughout the United States for the purpose of fully acquainting them with civil rights legislation and their responsibilities in connection with same. I told him that the results of this campaign have been encouraging in the cooperation received.

I pointed out to him that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to the FBI's role in civil rights matters. I emphasized that the FBI is an investigative agency, that it cannot recommend prosecution or make on-the-spot arrests where Federal laws have not been violated. He was advised that the FBI will not protect civil rights workers or Negroes because the FBI does not have the authority or jurisdiction to do so. He was also advised that the FBI cannot and will not exceed its authority. Reverend King was told that our investigations are conducted in a thorough and impartial manner, but if he or any of his associates knew of a Special Agent who had shown bias or prejudice, I wanted to know about it immediately.

Reverend King indicated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is planning to engage in voter registration activities in Selma, Alabama, on or about January 1, 1965, and that he has learned that there could be violence. I told him that our Agents would be on the scene, not for the purpose of rendering protection, but to observe and report to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that may occur.

The President

Reverend King expressed his gratitude for having the opportunity to meet me. He said he felt our meeting had been a productive one, and I told him to feel free to get in touch with me any time he thought it necessary to do so.

Respectfully submitted,

- 4 -

~~SECRET~~

*Presumably deleted 1/2/64*

MDR-16  
DECLASSIFIED BY SPALM/K  
ON 10/2/00

December 2, 1964

- BY LIAISON
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
  - 1 - Mr. Mohr
  - 1 - Mr. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. Evans
  - 1 - Mr. Rosen
  - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. Bland
  - 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
  - 1 - Mr. Phillips

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Penalties  
 DEC 9 9 14 PM '64

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought that the President would like to have the following information concerning Martin Luther King, which was obtained from confidential sources who have supplied reliable information in the past.

King, who is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1964, is currently working on the preparation of a five-minute acceptance speech. He has requested several individuals to furnish him material from which he intends to choose the best things to say. Included among these contributors are Clarence Jones, Stanley David Levison, Harry Wachtel and Bayard Rustin. All four of these individuals are frequent advisors to King.

Jones, in the mid-1950's, held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

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SFP:fhg I  
(11)

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 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

REC-23 100-106670-110

DEC 3 1964

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
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- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This information is also being furnished to other officials of the Government.

NOTE:

Sincerely yours,

Classified "Secret" as <sup>FISUR</sup> the information is from highly sensitive sources such as AT 1380-S\*. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could affect the security of these sources who are of continuing value and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense. Information obtained from NYtel 11/25/64 and ATtel 11/27/64. Dissemination to the military intelligence agencies being made by separate communication.

~~SECRET~~  
- 2 -



5:51 p. m.

December 1, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. BELMONT  
MR. MOHR  
MR. DE LOACH  
MR. ROSEN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/27/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach returned my earlier call to him and I advised him that I had seen Dr. Martin Luther King, who was accompanied by Dr. Abernathy and two other cohorts. I stated that King was a very persuasive speaker and Mr. Katzenbach indicated King was a great public speaker and that was about all he could say for King.

I advised Mr. Katzenbach that I took the ball away from King at the beginning, that King was most laudatory about the Bureau's work and so was Abernathy. I further advised Mr. Katzenbach that King had a press statement already written out to hand the newsmen in my reception room; that I refused to make any comment or statement myself; that King read his statement about having an open channel of communications and all working for civil rights. I stated that King did not have in his press statement the very commendatory remarks he made, that he could not have been higher in his praise of the Bureau and of the great job we have done in the South. Mr. Katzenbach said that was too bad.

I told Mr. Katzenbach that I just wanted him to know that I had gone through with it.

Mr. Katzenbach then asked if I were going to tell the President about the situation in Mississippi - about the arrests - at some point. I answered yes, and Mr. Katzenbach said the President should be informed. I advised him that we had not decided when it will be done, that it is being considered.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

*Letter to  
Acting AG  
12/2/64  
JMS: mkr*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JEH:rm (9)

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DEC 2 1964

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RECORDED COPY FILED IN



Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, December 1, 1964  
Mohr, DeLoach, Rosen

Mr. Katzenbach stated my people had discussed it with him and he thought the way the Bureau proposes to go ahead is the right way. I said I thought so, too. Mr. Katzenbach said he had told Jim Malley this and suggested that I tell the President that the Department had approved this way. Mr. Katzenbach stated it was such a great job the Bureau people did down there he would like the President to hear it from me.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME <u>10:37 AM</u>
DATE <u>12/2/64</u>
BY <u>J.E.H.</u>

*We should send Katzenbach  
a copy of my letter to  
White House.*

*H.*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/30/64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

*All deletions to protect identity of friends and officials involved.*

Memorandum from D. J. Brennan, Jr., to Mr. Sullivan, 11/13/64, recommended, and the Director approved, that Legat Bates, London, be authorized to orally brief the United States Ambassadors in London and Oslo concerning Martin Luther King. The briefing was concerning both the communist influences on King and King's degenerate nature. Bates had requested such permission because he anticipated that the Ambassadors might consider entertaining King while he is in Europe to receive the Nobel Peace Prize and Bates believed he could forestall such action by the Ambassadors if they were briefed.

Assistant Legat Minnich, London, telephoned early today (11/30/64) and advised that Bates would also like to brief our Ambassadors at Stockholm and Copenhagen as King is to also visit these cities. The Legat's office, London, will telephone again via cost-free defense facilities tomorrow (12/1/64).

Our Ambassador at Stockholm is a career Minister, J. Graham Parsons. The Ambassador at Copenhagen is Mrs. Katherine Elkus White. We have nothing unfavorable in our files concerning these two Ambassadors which would preclude giving them the same briefing we previously gave the Ambassadors at London and Oslo. Our relations with the Ambassadors are friendly and it is believed that Bates should be permitted to brief them.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

If approved, we will tell Bates that he may orally brief our Ambassadors in Stockholm and Copenhagen along the same lines as he previously briefed the Ambassadors at London and Oslo. Upon approval this memorandum should be routed to Liaison for the necessary advice to Bates via cost-free telephone facilities.

100-106670

SFP:jad  
(10)

*Done by [unclear] 11/1/64*

100-106670 - 566

REC-34 DEC 4 1964

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DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AMK/...

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79 DEC 8 - 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson	_____
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DeLoach	_____
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Sullivan	_____
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Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Mohr  
 FROM : C. D. DeLoach

DATE: November 27, 1964

SUBJECT: ROY WILKINS  
 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
 OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)  
 APPOINTMENT 11/27/64  
 FBI HEADQUARTERS  
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALM/KP

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called me from New York at 12:55 p.m. today. He stated that he had to fly down to Washington to see me immediately. He asked if I had any available time. He apologized for attempting to arrange an appointment on what he termed a "holiday weekend." I told him the "holiday weekend" made no difference to us and that despite his unwarranted statements concerning the Director and the FBI, I would sit down and talk to him.

Wilkins arrived at 4:00 p.m. He stated that he was greatly concerned. He made reference to the Director's Loyola speech last Tuesday, 11/24/64, in which the Director had made reference to "sexual degenerates" in pressure groups. Wilkins stated he personally knew about whom the Director was talking, although many other Negroes did not know. Wilkins added that he had received at least three newspaper inquiries during the past two days from individuals inquiring as to whether King was a sexual degenerate or not.

Wilkins told me that he personally did not mind seeing King ruined. He stated the important part of the matter, however, was the fact that if King was ruined the entire civil rights movement would be ruined. Wilkins stated that he personally knew that King was a "liar" and that he had little respect for him. He quoted an example of his wife stating last night at a Thanksgiving dinner with friends, upon being asked if she knew of the terrible things that "Edgar Hoover had said about Reverend King being a liar." Mrs. Wilkins replied, "This doesn't surprise me because King is a liar." Wilkins continued that while King is no good, his ruination will spell the downfall of the entire civil rights movement.

100-106670-  
 NOT RECORDED

Wilkins told me that despite the publicity of the sexual degenerate allegations and communist allegations against King, many of the Negro associates

- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-106670-7



DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
 Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
 FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

would jump to the defensive and defend King. On the other hand, however, many of the white people who believe in the civil rights movement and who yearly contribute from \$500 to \$50,000 to this movement will immediately cease their financial support. Wilkins added that the loss of financial support will be tremendous, however, the loss of faith in King by millions of Americans would be even worse. He stated the combination of the two would, of course, halt any further progress of the civil rights movement.

Wilkins told me that he and a number of the Negro leaders had attempted several months ago to get King to accept the presidency of a small college. He stated King had refused to do this because he was accustomed to the hypocrisy of adulation and to the money that was pouring in to him. He stated that King for some time now has received from \$500 to a \$1,000 per speech on the lecture circuit. He mentioned that King receives considerable support from wealthy Negro and white people alike. He stated that obviously the best thing that the Negro leaders could do now would be to get King to accept a position as Pastor of a large Negro church and thereby retire forever as a leader of the Negroes.

Wilkins stressed the fact that he was not seeing me as an emissary. He stated he had some influence on King but not much. He added that there were others within his movement who had greater influence and that perhaps together some pressure could be brought on King. Wilkins then added that he hoped that the FBI would not expose King before something could be done.

I interrupted Wilkins at this point. I told him that the Director, of course, did not have in mind the destruction of the civil rights movement as a whole. I told him the Director sympathized with the civil rights movement as exemplified by the Director's supervision of the FBI's many brilliant accomplishments in this field. I added, however, that we deeply and bitterly resented the lies and falsehoods told by King and that if King wanted war we certainly would give it to him. Wilkins shook his head and stated there was no doubt in his mind as to which side would lose if the FBI really came out with all of its ammunition against King. I told him the ammunition was plentiful and that while we were not responsible for the many rumors being circulated against King, we had heard of these rumors and were certainly in a position to substantiate them.

I told Wilkins that inasmuch as he was attempting to nip out the seed of peace he should know a few positive facts of life. He asked what I meant. I told him my point was that he was attempting to prevent the FBI from exposing King, but certain highly-placed informants of ours had tipped us off to absolutely reliable information that King had organized a bitter crusade against the Director and the FBI. I told Wilkins these long-standing and well placed informants had advised us that King

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64

Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64

FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

had contacted people in various parts of the United States to get them to send telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, and the FBI asking for Mr. Hoover's retirement or resignation. I told Wilkins that King had also encouraged telegrams to be sent advising the FBI of laxness in the investigation of civil rights matters. I asked Wilkins how in the hell could he expect the FBI to believe his offers of friendship and request for peace when King was at this time attempting to ruin us. Wilkins merely hung his head and stated he had no idea that King was carrying on such a campaign. He stated that this upset him greatly and made him all the more determined to initiate action to remove King as soon as possible.

Wilkins stated that he had long noted King's sympathy toward the communist movement. He told me this obviously stemmed from Stanley Levinson's influence on King. Wilkins diverted from the subject of the conversation to spend some time in explaining that he had also noted communist influence in the civil rights movement in Mississippi. He stated that the cry of "Down with the Proletariat" was getting to be the battlecry of the militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama. He mentioned the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He mentioned that the Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe that the FBI could do nothing right; consequently, FBI solution of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

Wilkins stated he was wrong in his criticism of the Director. He added that he was attempting to accomplish, in a mild manner, a division between the battle of the Director and King and any phases of the battle which would reflect upon the civil rights movement. He stated he has a hard time controlling his 52-man Board of Directors, particularly since King is a member of this board. He then added, "We're hurting," and something must be done.

Wilkins told me that he will be lecturing in California most all of next week. He stated that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, and tell King that he can't possibly win in any battle with the FBI and that the best thing for him to do is to retire from public life. He stated he may not have any success in this regard, however, that he is convinced that the FBI can easily ruin King overnight, therefore, for the good of the civil rights cause King should make definite plans to leave public life and merely be Pastor of a Negro church in the future. I told Wilkins this, of course, was up to him; however, I wanted to reiterate once again most strongly, that if King wanted war we were prepared to give

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

it to him and let the chips fall where they may. Wilkins stated this would be most disasterous, particularly to the Negro movement and that ne hoped this would never come about. I told him that the monkey was on his back and that of the other Negro leaders. He stated he realized this. We then shook hands and he left to return to New York.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President in connection with the above conversation.

*D*

*✓*  
*CR*  
*A*



**SECRET**  
FBI

Date: 11/25/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)  
FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (100-3329) (P)  
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
B. A. [unclear]  
S. P. [unclear]  
[unclear]

Remyairtel 11/13/64 and Bucab 11/10/64.

On November 19, 1964, in accordance with Bureau instructions, I orally furnished to U. S. Ambassador BRUCE in London the approved portion of referenced Bucab. The Ambassador was most appreciative of this information. He advised that he would not be in London at the time subject will be here, as he is going to Washington with Prime Minister WILSON and other top British Government officials. He said this would of course preclude any meeting KING might desire to have with the Ambassador. (S)

On November 20, 1964, this matter was again discussed with Sir ROGER HOLLIS of MI-5. He confirmed that the Prime Minister would not be in London when subject was here and that therefore the Prime Minister would not be meeting with KING. (S)

MI-5 is conducting investigation regarding the activities of BAYARD RUSTIN, who is currently in London. Legat will furnish the pertinent information on KING on a highly confidential basis to the American Ambassador in Oslo on November 30, 1964. (S)

We are closely following this matter and will keep the Bureau informed.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison Section (sent direct)
- 2 - London

100-106670-553  
5 NOV 30 1964

CWB:ec  
(6)

*Handwritten notes:*  
cc-808RB  
ALL DELETIONS to protect  
IDENTITIES of friendly Foreign intelligence  
Service countries and officials

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

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**SECRET**



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*Viper*

Tolson	_____
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DeLoach	_____
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Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

*D.J. Brennan*  
*Mr. McNichol*

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr. *DM*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: November 24, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/21/00 BY SP2AMK

Reference is made to memorandum Brennan to Sullivan in captioned matter dated 11-23-64, wherein it was set forth that the Bureau had no objection to State Department briefing the United States Information Agency from material previously furnished State regarding King, including information concerning King's immoral conduct.

Mr. Paul J. McNichol, Director of Security, USIA, advised Liaison 11-23-64, that he had, on that date, been briefed by Mr. Fred Traband, Office of Security, State, regarding King. In this connection, he stated that he desired to make a most urgent request that he be furnished the material in possession of State and any related material available regarding King. Mr. McNichol explained that currently top officials of USIA, namely Assistant Directors, have under consideration an approach to King for the purpose of "enticing" him to accept a State Department grant under USIA sponsorship for travel to Europe, Africa and the near East, such a trip to take place in early December. McNichol emphasized that he desires this material so that USIA officials can be adequately briefed for the purpose of preventing any such assignment being offered to King by USIA. **REC-55**

On being apprised of the above, Assistant to the Director Belmont authorized the dissemination of reports and memoranda as described above to USIA.

**ACTION:**

*done*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

- For information:
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
  - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. Baumgardner (Attn. Mr. Phillips)
  - 1 - Liaison
  - 1 - Mr. McDonnell

XEROX

**COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON**

70 DEC 03 1964

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-106670-556m

November 23, 1964

100-106670-

*W. J. Brennan*

Honorable Nicholas deB. Katzenbach  
Acting Attorney General  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Katzenbach:

I want you to know how much I appreciate the wholehearted support which you accorded this Bureau and me during your press conference in Miami on Friday.

Your expression of confidence in our efforts is indeed gratifying and you may be sure that we will continue to carry out our responsibilities in the future in a manner which will merit your approval.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,

*Edgar*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP8ALM/KP

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and its content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

CT-DSS

NOV 23 5 20 PM '64

F. B. I.  
RECORDS

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SENT FROM D  
TIME 2:42 PM  
DATE 11/23/64  
BY GEA

DEC 7 - 1964

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-175-97

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Evans	_____
Galt	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

*Handwritten initials and scribbles at top right.*

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 11-20-64

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL  
NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH  
REMARKS CONCERNING DIRECTOR  
MIAMI, FLORIDA, 11-20-64

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AUMKP

At 3:50 p. m. today SAC Frohbose of the Miami Office telephoned and talked with Mr. Wick. He said Mr. Katzenbach had just finished a press conference in the United States Attorney's Office in the Federal Building in Miami. Mr. Katzenbach is in Florida to speak before the University of Miami Law School alumni tomorrow.

At the conference, said Frohbose, were several Federal Judges, other Federal officials and, of course, TV, radio, wire service and local press representatives.

At the press conference Mr. Katzenbach was asked if he thought J. Edgar Hoover should retire after making remarks concerning King. Mr. Katzenbach answered by stating Mr. Hoover should not retire, that he has complete confidence in Mr. Hoover and he is one of the great Americans and a devoted public servant. Katzenbach said that he hoped and prayed that Mr. Hoover would stay on.

The press asked what Mr. Katzenbach thought of Mr. Hoover's statement calling King a notorious liar. Katzenbach said he would not add nor detract from Mr. Hoover's statement and he would not comment on it further.

Mr. Katzenbach was asked if Martin Luther King's statement that the FBI is not investigating civil rights matters in the South is true. Mr. Katzenbach said King's statement is not true. He said the FBI has solved many cases and is investigating cases and will continue to investigate civil rights cases wherever they may be. He said the FBI as well as Katzenbach do not want cases to go unsolved.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 161-170-11

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. Jones

87 DEC 4 1964

11 DEC 4 1964

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

REW:cal

(5)

*Handwritten notes:*  
This information was prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by you and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Mohr  
RE: Acting Attorney General  
Nicholas deB. Katzenbach

Frohbose said Katzenbach backed up the Director 100 per cent and his remarks were very well received by news media people.

Frohbose said that he has heard nothing but praise of Mr. Hoover from news media people who are grateful to know Mr. Hoover said what is on his mind.

RECOMMENDATION:

For record purposes.

*MM*

*11-20-64*

*V. Keyser*

*Write Katzenbach's a memo*

*H*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
Mohr	✓
DeLoach	✓
Casper	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
Evans	✓
Gale	✓
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tavel	✓
Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holmes	✓
Gandy	✓

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/20/64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*ELBUR*

At 3:30 p.m., 11/20/64, SAC Ponder of our Atlanta Office called and advised that AT 1379-S\* had just furnished some additional information which was of interest to the Bureau.

According to the source, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, wife, Corretta, made the statement she believed the Director will try to arrange a meeting with King in the immediate future. She added that the Director will retire within a week "because they made a fool of him."

AT 1379-S\* also advised that Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, father talked with Corretta King and told her to counsel Martin Luther King, Jr., to take it easy and to be moderate in his approach to this problem. (He was talking about King's comments concerning the Director's statement.)

**ACTION:**

I told Ponder to continue to keep the Bureau advised concerning any pertinent developments.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

FJB:rbm  
(8)

ST-109

XEROX  
NOV 25 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SPANKP

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

100-106670-543

11 NOV 25 1964

INT. SEC. *[Signature]*

*This document is processed in accordance with your agency's policy and for dissemination to your Committee and the confidential source to be disseminated to authorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

*[Handwritten notes]*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-109001-100001

64 DEC 1 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/19/64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP4 UNK/...

At 1 p.m., 11/19/64, SAC Roney of our New York Office called to furnish information concerning a proposed reply King will make to the Director's statement concerning him which appeared in the 11/19/64 issue of the "Washington Post."

We learned from NY 4212-S\* the following conversation which took place today between Harry Wachtel and Bayard Rustin, advisors to King. Wachtel said he had drafted something he felt King (Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.) should release. Rustin asked Wachtel if he thought King should make a statement and Wachtel said he should. There is set forth as follows the text of the proposed statement as drawn up by Wachtel.

"I have not seen the exact text of J. Edgar Hoover's press interview in which, among other things, he attacked the Warren Commission report and questioned my integrity. No amount of name-calling or slanders can serve as a smoke screen to hide the signal failure of the FBI to adequately perform its duties whether they relate to the events leading up to the assassination of President Kennedy, protection of Negroes against violence in the South or in the control of the Klu Klux Klan and other extreme rights groups. While I resent the personal attack on my integrity I will not allow Mr. Hoover to blur the real issue, namely, that during a reign of terror and violence in many southern communities, the Negro people received neither aid nor comfort from the FBI. Also immaterial is the place of birth of Federal FBI Agents. What really matters is that the Negroes in southern communities have learned from bitter experience that the FBI did not act in these communities to protect them against brutality and violence. Just as no amount of snide comment can overcome the criticism by the Warren Commission of the FBI's role in the tragic events of last November, neither can Mr. Hoover's outburst erase the dismal record of the FBI in the South on brutality, bombings, murder and church bombings. The distemper of Mr. Hoover does, however, establish one thing

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100-106670

FJB:jad  
(9)

CONTINUED - OVER

REC 8

100-106670-531  
NOV 21 1964

56 NOV 30 1964 XEROX

PERS. REC. UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-106670-531



Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
From F. J. Baumgardner  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

"clearly to the American people and that is that he has outlived his usefulness as the head of the FBI or as a public servant. I am confident that this public display of distemper will not go unnoticed by the President."

Rustin then replied to Wachtel that he liked the statement with two exceptions. One is that Wachtel should drop the part about King being resentful because King is not resentful. Rustin said that the second thing he was against was the conclusion. Rustin said King does not want to inject himself or allow himself to be injected by this incident into something involving the President. Wachtel then asked Rustin if he was against both parts of the last statement, namely, the part about Hoover having outlived his usefulness and the part about the President noticing the distemper. Rustin said he was in favor of taking both parts out. He said that instead they could say "The question which now confronts us is whether a person of such intemperance can any longer serve as a public servant." Rustin said it is better to have this in the form of a question because it is strong and also because King is not a person who says this person has to go, etc. Wachtel said he agreed with the changes and said to Rustin that he had written the statement in anger. Wachtel said he would call Dora McDonald, King's secretary, in Atlanta to let King know that we will be together from 2 to 3 p.m. today and that he, King, should avoid the press until he speaks to us. Rustin said all King should say is that he will have a statement later on.

OBSERVATION:

As you know, Bayard Rustin has publicly admitted having been associated with the communist movement in the past. Harry Wachtel is not known to have been a Communist Party member; however, there are indications he may also have been associated with the communist movement in the 1940's and we presently are conducting investigation to determine this.

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
From F. J. Baumgardner  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

The significant thing involved here is not that these individuals have jumped quickly to King's defense, but rather that they are seizing the opportunity, in line with a long-held communist objective, to launch a campaign to oust the Director as head of the FBI.

The important thing at this point is to follow this matter closely to determine the degree to which King follows their advice in regard to issuing the statement prepared by Wachtel for we will then have further evidence of the extent to which King is being used by communist sympathizers in support of communist objectives.

For the time being, we should hold dissemination of the information in abeyance until we see which way King moves. Then we can put the whole picture together and make appropriate dissemination.

ACTION:

I told SAC Roney to call our Atlanta Office and advise them of this development. I told him to instruct the Atlanta Office to be alert to any additional information which may be developed through their sources and to keep the Bureau advised expeditiously.

*B* *WCF* *A* ✓



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: November 19, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: VAL COLEMAN  
CORE HEADQUARTERS  
NEW YORK CITY

*Martin Luther King*

Val Coleman of CORE Headquarters called this morning and said that CORE felt it had no alternative but to issue a statement in rebuttal to Mr. Hoover's "intemperate" attack on Dr. King. Coleman said certainly he and the CORE leaders considered the FBI as a friend of theirs but he just could not understand why Mr. Hoover would lash out against a man like Dr. King, and he added that he wanted to let us know for the record that CORE felt they had to issue a strong statement.

It was suggested to Coleman privately that he might want to back up and think a minute before he criticized the FBI severely, that certainly Mr. Hoover had not attacked the civil rights movement, that Mr. Hoover had on the other hand been vigorously critical of the low-type law enforcement officers in the South who actually participated in civil rights violations and who were a disgrace to the law enforcement profession. It was further pointed out to Coleman that Mr. Hoover's statement regarding King's assertion with respect to the Albany, Georgia, situation was simply a matter of calling a spade a spade, and that clearly and obviously King had lied.

Coleman said he would think the matter over and that he would want to modify his original statement. He concluded his call by saying that to keep people happy at CORE he would still have to release a "pretty strong" statement. Coleman said that he hoped to be down in Washington within the next ten days or so and would like to drop by and he was assured that we would be glad to talk with him at any time.

The above is for information.

100-106670  
 NOT RECORDED  
 11 DEC 4 1964  
 11 DEC 4 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/21/00 BY SP/MLP

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

HPL 56 DEC 7 1964  
(5)

This document is hereby approved to your request and is not for dissemination outside the FBI. Its use is limited to official proceedings by and without the express approval of the FBI.

*They are just hypocrites*

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11-16-64

This concerns information we furnished to the British concerning the background of both Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bayard Rustin. It was in connection with efforts being made by King to see the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson when King passes through London en route to Oslo, Norway, to receive Nobel Peace Prize.

*Excisions  
to Protect Friendly  
Foreign Intelligence  
Agency & Country  
Involved*

*20*

*B J*  
SFP:fas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP/AMK

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FBI

Date: November 13, 1964

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (100-3329) (P)

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

SM - C  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

ReBucab 11/10/64, received London, 3:00 AM, 11/11/64.

\* INDICATES DATA INSERTED

Information contained in reBucab concerning subject and BAYARD RUSTIN was furnished on the morning of November 11, 1964, to Sir ROGER HOLLIS, British Security Service, MI-5. He was advised that this information was being furnished so that it might be given on a highly confidential basis to Prime Minister WILSON.

On the morning of November 13, 1964, HOLLIS said this information had been furnished to the Prime Minister. HOLLIS commented that he was indeed grateful to the Director for this information. He was not at the moment aware of the action to be taken by the Prime Minister, but that such information was of extreme value.

HOLLIS also advised that RUSTIN had arrived in London on the morning of November 13, from the United States. RUSTIN told the Immigration authorities that he was in England to see the Secretary of State for Colonies and to make arrangements for KING's forthcoming trip. While in London, RUSTIN would be staying at Friends International Center, 32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. MI-5 is covering RUSTIN's activities and this matter will be followed with MI-5 and the Bureau advised.

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison Section (sent direct)
- 2 - London (100-1535)

CWB:ec

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AUN/JP

REC-39

21 NOV 16 1964

SUBV CONTROL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

- Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen ✓
- Sullivan ✓
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: November 13, 1964

FROM : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *DJB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

*Deletions to protect  
IDENTITY of friendly  
Foreign Governments  
AND OFFICIALS INVOLVED*

*Baungardner*

At 2:10 p.m., 11/13/64, Legat Bates, London, telephoned concerning the subject's proposed travel abroad. Bates pointed out that in view of subject's position as a Nobel Prize winner, the United States Ambassadors in both London and Oslo will probably entertain him as the guest of honor at some social function. Bates said he believes he can forestall this if he can orally brief our Ambassadors. He pointed out that the Bureau has previously advised him that we have no derogatory data concerning these Ambassadors. Bates will telephone again via cost-free defense facilities at approximately 2 a.m., Saturday, 11/14/64, Washington time.

ACTION:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2ALMCP

If approved, we will tell Bates that he may orally brief the United States Ambassadors to London and Oslo concerning King. The Ambassadors will be briefed concerning both King's communist connections and his immoral nature. This briefing will be along the same lines that we previously authorized the Legat to furnish the British as set out in the underscored portion of Bureau cable to the Legat 11/10/64, a copy of which is attached.

Enc.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baungardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

*WCS* ✓ *GR*

*BATES ADVISED 5:58 AM 11/14/64 mnd/ASCA*

REC 4 100-106670-525

NOV 17 1964

GAD:kmj  
(10)

66 NOV 23 1964

ENCLOSURE

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

November 10, 1964

CODE

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

NIGHT ACTION

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

TO LEGAT LONDON

*Country*

\* INDICATES DATA

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-106670) (Friendly Foreign)

*inserted*  
*Intelligence Base of CIA*

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WHO IS TO RECEIVE THE NOBEL

PEACE PRIZE IN OSLO, NORWAY, DECEMBER TEN, NEXT, PLANS TO BE

IN LONDON, ENGLAND, DECEMBER SIX AND SEVEN, NEXT. ONE OF

HIS ADVISORS, RAYARD RUSTIN, HAS CONTACTED PEGGY DUFF, A

LONDON RESIDENT WHO IS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR

DISARMAMENT. RUSTIN REQUESTED HER TO ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE FOR

PRIME MINISTER HAROLD WILSON TO RECEIVE KING. RUSTIN DESIRES

IT NOT APPEAR AS THOUGH THIS IS KING'S IDEA AND REQUESTS WILSON

TO ANNOUNCE THAT WILSON IS INVITING KING. DUFF CHECKING INTO

THIS MATTER.

RUSTIN IS DEPARTING FOR LONDON NOVEMBER ELEVEN, NEXT,

FOR PURPOSE OF CLARIFYING A CONFUSION SURROUNDING KING'S TRIP

IN DECEMBER. CONFUSION INVOLVES FACT THAT ARCHBISHOP OF

CANTERBURY DESIRES TO RECEIVE KING BUT HAS BEEN OPPOSED BY

SFP:bgc  
(13)

*Deletions to protect identities of Friendly Foreign Intelligence Service, Country & officials involved*

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 11/10/64, same caption, SFP:bgc.

- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY 2017  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2

ENCLOSURE

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

# 10/27/00  
DECLASSIFIED BY SPANKP

100-106670-525



JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1



JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Acting Attorney General

November 3, 1964

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

A confidential source of this Bureau who has furnished reliable information in the past supplied the following information on November 2, 1964:

On the morning of November 2, 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr., at Atlanta, Georgia, learned of a campaign which had been initiated to encourage people to vote for him as a write-in candidate for President of the United States during the election on November 3, 1964. The campaign was to take several forms, including telegrams to Negroes throughout the country; efforts to gain radio time to urge people to vote for King; and the circulation of handbills in large cities encouraging a vote for King.

According to this Bureau's source, King interpreted the actions described above as an obvious attempt to cancel out the Negro vote and to confuse Negroes in their voting. King expressed the belief that the campaign was initiated by Goldwater forces on the basis that any votes for King by Negroes would obviously lessen the number of such votes for President Lyndon B. Johnson. King held a press conference in Atlanta on the morning of November 2, 1964, at which he reportedly told the press of the foregoing and denied having any connection with the campaign on his behalf. At this conference he urged people not to pay any attention to the efforts being expended to have people vote for him.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

100-106670

6 SPB:dgc (15)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

RA

2 2

MDR-16  
DECLASSIFIED BY SP2AUM/KP  
ON 10/27/00

MAILED 8  
NOV 5 - 1964  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

REC-37 100-106670-503

19 NOV 4 1964

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten mark]*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Acting Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "~~Confidential~~" as information is from a sensitive source of the Atlanta Office and while most of the information may soon become public, some protection of the source is necessary. Information was obtained from our Atlanta Office by two telephone calls 10:45 a.m. and 11:40 a.m., 11/2/64. By memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to Mr. W. C. Sullivan 11/2/64 this information was immediately made known to Bureau officials and enabled Mr. DeLoach's Office to immediately alert the White House.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan ✓

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

DATE: November 2, 1964

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Phillips

By telephone calls from our Atlanta Office 10:45 a.m. and 11:40 a.m., today (11-2-64), we learned of the following information through a highly sensitive source. Martin Luther King, Jr., just learned this morning of a campaign which has been initiated to encourage people to vote for King for president as a write-in candidate 11-3-64. The campaign is taking several forms, including telegrams being sent to Negroes throughout the country; efforts to gain radio time to urge people to vote for King; and the circulation of handbills in larger cities encouraging a vote for King. The handbills reveal distribution by "Committee for Negroes in the Government," Louisville, Kentucky. (No record organization Bufiles.

According to our source, King interpreted the actions described above as an obvious attempt to cancel out the Negro vote and to confuse Negroes in their voting. King believes that the campaign was initiated by Goldwater forces because any votes for King by Negroes would obviously diminish the number of such votes for President Johnson.

King held an immediate press conference in Atlanta, Georgia, this morning in which he told the press of the foregoing and denied having any connection with the campaign. He urged people not to pay any attention to the efforts to have people vote for him.

ACTION:

The foregoing information was immediately telephonically furnished to Mr. DeLoach's Office so that he might alert the White House. This is for your immediate attention. Letters to the White House and to the Acting Attorney General are being expeditiously prepared.

SFP:bgc  
(10)  
100-106670

ST-108 REC-1 100-106670-511  
NOV 9 1964  
\* AFTER APPROVAL OF THIS MEMO

*Send by letter 11-2*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/00 BY SPAM/BS

This document is prepared for the purpose of providing information to the President and the Vice President. It is not to be disseminated outside the Executive Branch. It is not to be used for any other purpose. It is not to be published, reprinted, or otherwise made available to the public. It is not to be used for any other purpose. It is not to be published, reprinted, or otherwise made available to the public.

53 NOV 10 1964

SSC LETTER 11-12-75

ITEM 2

21

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DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2MYP

Retain

See 1199

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : MR. BELMONT

DATE: 4/23/64

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

cc Mr. Belmont  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/27/00 BY SP2AUM/KP

*5-9-64*

I received a call at 5:25 p.m. from the San Francisco Office to advise that Dr. Martin Luther King ~~has~~, as predicted, issued his written statement to the press. It caused a great deal of interest and undoubtedly it will be mentioned tonite around the country on radio & TV.

King mentioned the Director by name and, in substance, put him in the category of southern politicians and racists who are opposing the Bill of Rights. He indicated that the Director, if nothing more, would be used by these people for maintaining segregation, all because the Director made what King regards as being a false statement charging communist infiltration and influence in the civil rights and negro movement.

King challenged the Director that if he had any real evidence, to come forth with it. He went on to say that the leaders of the Negro movement have tried consistently to keep communists out of policy-forming areas and positions of leadership.

King quoted the AG against the Director, to the effect that it is to be expected that communists will try to infiltrate civil rights movements, but they had not succeeded in making the expected impact.

King, at the end, repeated his challenge to the Director to come forth with evidence to support his charge.

WCS:CSH (4)

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. It is not to be used in any way without the express approval of the FBI.*

*I told him we are working up material and to what action we should take. He needs to be taken care of.*

*WCS*  
*REC-21*  
*100-106670-25*

58 MAY 5 1964

MAY 30 1964

EX 101

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: April 23, 1964

FROM : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Mohr
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. DeLoach
- 1-Mr. J. A. Sizoo
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Gurley
- 1-Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Assistant Special Agent in Charge Paul O'Connell, San Francisco Office, called at 5:25 p.m. today (4/23/64) and dictated the substance of Martin Luther King's statement issued to the press this afternoon (4/23) at the International Airport in San Francisco. The statement itself, with further details, is being sent in tonight to the Bureau.

The statement, as dictated over the phone, is set forth below:

Statement of Reverend Martin Luther King, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, in Response to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's Charge that Communists Had Infiltrated the Civil Rights Movement.

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DATE 10/27/00 BY SP/AMK

It is very unfortunate that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, in his claim of alleged communist infiltration in the civil rights movement, has allowed himself to aid and abet the salacious claims of southern racists and the extreme right-wing elements. I hope this is not a reflection of a tragic drift toward the renaissance of McCarthyism that so terribly blighted the life and health of our nation. The more significant truth is the amazing lack of success that communism has met in attracting the Negro, who easily might be tempted to turn to some other disciple to gain respite from his desperate plight.

The issue of communist infiltration in the civil rights movement is not new. I have dwelt with it time and time again. In fact, one had good reason to believe it was given a decent burial when Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy answered Senator Maroney's inquiry to the FBI

WCS:LL

REC-17

100-3-116-1317

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

5 1964

CC - MR. TOLSON

MEMORANDUM TO MR. BELMONT FROM MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

Re: CP, USA; NEGRO QUESTION;  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS; IS - C.

on this question last summer: "It is natural and inevitable that communists have made efforts to infiltrate the civil rights movement and to exploit the current racial situation. In view of the real injustices that exist and the resentments against them, these efforts have been remarkably unsuccessful."

From my own experience in the civil rights movement, this observation by the head of the Department of Justice is, indeed, true and it should be paid heed by those who periodically raise this issue. One may ask, why is this dead issue being resurrected at this time? Why is this issue being used now to smear and attack the civil rights movement and the SCLC. We in the SCLC adhere to our policy: We do not accept in leadership or authoritative places or at staff levels membership or the advice of communists. We consider such members incompatible with our credo and philosophy. Our struggle each day is to achieve the American dream, a concept which is alien to those who espouse the concept of the Communist Party.

We challenge all who raise the "red" issue, whether they be newspaper columnists or the head of the FBI himself -- to come forward and provide real evidence which contradicts this stand of the SCLC. We are confident that this cannot be done.

We at the SCLC must be judged by our record. I stand fully and forthrightly behind the action taken by myself in my 10 years of civil rights activity and of the SCLC which I have been privileged to lead since its inception in 1957. No action, no deeds, no statement requires repudiation as being inconsistent with our struggle to achieve an America free of segregation through nonviolent persuasion and direct action.

We will continue to be vigilant against communist infiltration, but we will also serve notice that we will continue to resolutely wage the struggle for the full emancipation of the Negro. We will not allow ourselves to be diverted. We will not allow Eastland, Barnett or the George Wallaces to use the "red" issue to block our efforts, to split our ranks or confuse our supporters. This resolution we make, ever mindful that every effort is being made by the racists and the Birchites to sow dissention and confusion to bring about the defeat of the pending civil rights legislation.

MEMORANDUM TO MR. BELMONT FROM MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

Re: CP, USA; NEGRO QUESTION;  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS; IS - C.

We affirm that SCLC is unalterably opposed to the misguided philosophy of communism. It is based on unethical relativism, a metaphysical totalitarianism, and the denial of human freedom, which we could never accept.

It is difficult to accept the word of the FBI on communist infiltration in the civil rights movement, when they have been so completely ineffectual in resolving the continued mayhem and brutality inflicted upon the Negro in the deep south. It would be encouraging to us if Mr. Hoover and the FBI would be as diligent in apprehending those responsible for bombing churches and killing little children as they are in seeking out alleged communist infiltration in the civil rights movement.

The Domestic Intelligence Division is already working on material which can be used to refute what King has said. This is being pushed extremely hard and will be given to the Director promptly for his consideration.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

W.C.S.  
CS

62-116395-1198X  
**CHANGED TO**  
62-116464-312

MAR 10 1976

Cons. / Rmd

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/21/00 BY SP2AM/KP

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Walsh

DATE: 11/26/75

FROM : S. R. Burns

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
BEFORE THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

Reference is made to memorandum, Mr. Adams from Legal Counsel, dated 11/24/75, which requested general input from all divisions and specific input from certain divisions by COB 11/28/75 relative to the preparation of a Briefing Book for the use of the Attorney General on the occasion of his appearance before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities.

Attached hereto are inserts responsive to referenced memorandum representing the coordinated efforts of the Inspection and Administrative Divisions.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this matter be referred to Legal Counsel Division for inclusion of attachments in the Briefing Book being prepared.

*Handwritten initials*

REC 8

*Handwritten scribbles and numbers*

*Handwritten: 20/RGH 1196X*

7 DEC 30 1975

1 - Mr. Bassett  
Enclosures  
BWR:aga  
(2)

*LEGAL COUNSEL stamp*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/16/99 BY SP2 ALM/UMF

79 JAN 7 1976

*Handwritten: ACK let to file*

*Handwritten: Enclosure attached AG Letting 12-3-75*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun.
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. McDermott

FROM : H. R. Hauer

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
BEFORE THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

DATE: 11-26-75

*Hotis*

Memo from Legal Counsel to J. B. Adams of 11-24-75 captioned as above, advised Attorney General Levi is scheduled for an appearance before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities and a request has been received from the Department for the Bureau to provide material which will be used in the preparation of a briefing book for Mr. Levi's testimony.

One of the areas specifically mentioned as being of interest and regarding which information from the Bureau is sought concerns the "Official and Confidential" (OC) files. Referenced memo requested material be submitted to the Office of Congressional Affairs by close of business Friday, 11-28-75.

Attached hereto is an insert setting forth data regarding former Director Hoover's OC files.

RECOMMENDATION:

Refer to Legal Counsel Division

REC-30  
*Memo*

62-116373-1196

7 DEC 16 1975

Enclosure

HRH:bpr  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/17/00 BY SP2 ALM/lmf

MOR-16

COMM. SECT.

Ack let to Enclosure detached  
AG 12-3-75  
DVO:dkf  
Ser Ais L...  
12-3-75

LEGAL COUNSEL

84 DEC 19 1975

- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1-Mr. J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar

The Attorney General

November 24, 1975

- 1 - Mr. J. T. Aldhizer

Director, FBI

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Reference is made to SSC letter dated November 7, 1975, containing requests for materials concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., and FBI memorandum dated November 17, 1975, which furnished a partial response to requests in referenced SSC letter.

Enclosed for your approval and forwarding to the SSC is an original of a memorandum to supplement information supplied the SSC in referenced FBI memorandum. This material is in response to Items 3 and 4 of referenced SSC letter.

Also enclosed for your records is a copy of the memorandum which is being delivered to you with a set of the materials which are being delivered to the SSC.

Enclosures (2)

62-116395

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

REC-30

62-116395-1195

4-ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

JTA:adn  
(9)

DEC 19 1975

NOTE:

A copy of the SSC letter 11/7/75, is attached to the file copy of enclosed letterhead memorandum. Exact copies of the materials being furnished are maintained in the office of the SENSTUDY 75 Project. Arrangements have been made for a representative of the Legal Counsel Division to deliver the attached memorandum as well as the materials being provided to the SSC.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
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- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/16/2000 BY SP2 AYM/MLT

MOR-16

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Delivered to Dept. of Justice (Shaheen's office) 11/28/75 JTA

[Handwritten signatures and initials: "John", "W.O.C.", "J.A.M.", "J.B.H.", "W.R.W.", "M.O.C.", "J.T.A.", "J.A.M.", "J.B.H.", "W.R.W.", "M.O.C.", "J.T.A."]



- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1-Mr. J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. J. T. Aldhizer

62-116395

November 24, 1975

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Reference is made to SSC letter dated November 7, 1975, containing requests for materials concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., and FBI memorandum dated November 17, 1975, which furnished a partial response to requests in referenced SSC letter.

The purpose of this memorandum is to effect delivery to the SSC of information and material to supplement that previously furnished the SSC by referenced FBI memorandum in response to Items 3 and 4 of SSC letter dated November 7, 1975. To explain why supplemental data is being submitted the following is noted.

The SSC was previously furnished a Bureau memorandum from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach dated December 8, 1964, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Possible Appearance Before Baptist World Alliance Congress in June, 1965, Miami Beach, Florida." Page two, paragraph one of this memorandum indicated the Director earlier, in a memorandum dated November 27, 1964, disapproved a proposal for two representatives of the Baptist World Alliance to "listen to sources we have concerning this (King) matter."

SSC letter dated November 7, 1975, Items 3 and 4, requested this November 27, 1964, memorandum and all other materials reflecting proposals, discussions, decisions or accomplishments pertaining to permitting anyone outside the FBI to "listen to sources" pertaining to King.

The only memorandum located in logical FBI Headquarters files bearing the November 27, 1964, date was a memorandum from C. D. DeLoach to Mr. Mohr captioned "Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Convention, Appointment."

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/17/2000 BY SP8 am/inf**  
DATE 11/17/2000 BY SP8 am/inf  
JTA:adh / mdr-14 ORIGINAL AND ONE TO AG

(8)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

GPO : 1975 O - 569-920

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

November 27, 1964, FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C." (copy delivered with this memorandum.) Since this memorandum makes no references to "listen to sources," i.e. playing tapes regarding King, it appeared this was not the memorandum in question and the SSC was so advised in referenced Bureau communication together with the fact the desired November 27, 1964, memorandum could not be located.

Subsequent to submission of referenced FBI memorandum and during review of the personal files of W. C. Sullivan, a memorandum from J. A. Sizoo to Mr. Sullivan dated December 1, 1964, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr.," was discovered. A copy of this memorandum is being delivered with this memorandum, and it is noted there is no indication on this memorandum that it was made part of an official FBI file. Paragraph one of this memorandum refers to the DeLoach to Mohr memorandum of November 27, 1964, concerning the interview of Roy Wilkins and to an attached "informal memo" of Sullivan. As references in the memorandum of December 1, 1964, to the "informal memo" and the proposed playing of a King tape (paragraph four) are crossed out, it is presumed that no tapes were actually played. This is further substantiated by the M. A. Jones memorandum of December 8, 1964, in which reference is made to the Director's disapproval of a proposal to arrange for officials of the Baptist World Alliance to listen to our sources. No copy of the aforementioned "informal memo" was located in a search of logical FBI files.

Therefore, with the exception of the above, FBIHQ personnel handling SSC requests for King material restate that, to their knowledge, no other materials are believed to exist in the King and related files which indicate proposals, discussions, decisions or accomplishments pertaining to permitting anyone outside the FBI to "listen to sources" pertaining to King.

1 - The Attorney General

FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEXAS, VICE CHAIRMAN

PHILIP A. HART, MICH.  
WALTER F. MANDALE, MINN.  
WALTER E. HUDOLESTON, KY.  
ROBERT MORGAN, N.C.  
GARY HART, COLO.

HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
CHARLES MC C. MATHIAS, JR., MD.  
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

WILLIAM G. MILLER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARZ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL  
CURTIS H. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNSEL

# United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 94TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 7, 1975

Michael E. Shaheen, Jr., Esq.  
Office of Deputy Attorney General  
Room 4313  
U.S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mike:

Attached is a document request with respect to the King matter.

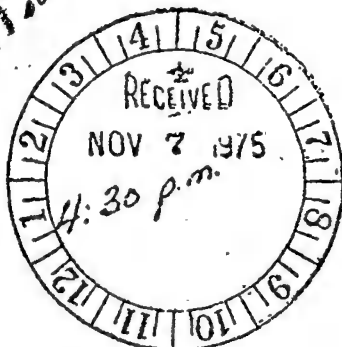
In view of the fact that public hearings on this case are now scheduled for the week of November 17, I would appreciate receiving the materials identified on the attached list, as well as others still outstanding which pertain to the King case, by Friday, November 7, 1975.

Sincerely,

*John T. Elliff*  
John T. Elliff

Director  
Domestic Intelligence Task Force

*Let's to AIC cc DA to  
hand (2) 11/24/75  
JTA:aln*



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/6/00 BY SP2 ALM/AMC  
MDR-1b

*5. Phillip*

ENCLOSURE

*62-116395-1195*

DOCUMENT REQUEST - November 7, 1975

1. All materials contained in the files of William C. Sullivan which pertain to Martin Luther King, Jr., and/or the SCLC, which have not been previously made available to the Committee. (Except for any portions containing transcripts or summaries or tapes of electronic surveillances of King.)
2. All memoranda and any other materials reflecting conversations between Mr. Evans and (a) Attorney General Kennedy and/or (b) Assistant Attorney General Marshall, pertaining to Martin Luther King and/or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
3. The memorandum dated 11/27/64 which is referred to in the first paragraph of the second page of the memorandum from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach, dated 12/8/64, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Possible Appearance Before Baptist World Alliance Congress in June, 1965, Miami Beach, Florida." (Serial No. 624)
4. All memoranda and any other materials reflecting proposals, discussions, decisions, or accomplishments pertaining to permitting anyone outside the FBI to "listen to sources" pertaining to Martin Luther King, Jr.

5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: Senate Select Committee

LTR  LHM  Memo  Report dated 11/24/75

Captio<sup>n</sup> of Document: U.S. SENATE SELECT COMTE TO STDY  
GOVMNT OP W/RESPCT TO INTEL ACTVTS. Ref SSC let  
rqt<sup>s</sup> for info re Martin Luther King.

Originating Office: FBI <sup>505</sup>

Delivered by: Richard T. Taylor, Jr. Date: 11/28/75

Received by: *Philip Zimmerman*

Title: *Study BSSO*

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/11/00 BY SP8AM/jml  
mar-16

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-1195

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:

FBI

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT     BRIEFING     INTERVIEW     TESTIMONY     OTHER

11/24/75

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

SSC

HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

Memorandum and enclosures

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

SSC letter 11/7/75 items 3 and 4

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

U

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

Information handling  
Intelligence collection

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Materials relating to Martin Luther King, Jr. Since initial submission of request additional information has been located during a review of the personal files of W.C. Sullivan; namely, a memorandum from J.A. Sizoo to Mr. Sullivan dated 12/1/64, this memorandum refers to the De Loach to Mohr memorandum of 11/27/64, concerning the interview of Roy Wilkins and to an attached "informal memorandum" of Sullivan.

62-116395

FMK:Fmk

(4)

ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75

TREAT AS YELLOW

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/16/2000 BY SP2 Alm/mtf

MDR-16

5-100d

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr *[Signature]*  
FROM : C. D. DeLoach

DATE: November 27, 1964

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: ROY WILKINS  
 EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
 OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)  
 APPOINTMENT 11/27/64  
 FBI HEADQUARTERS  
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called me from New York at 12:55 p.m. today. He stated that he had to fly down to Washington to see me immediately. He asked if I had any available time. He apologized for attempting to arrange an appointment on what he termed a "holiday weekend." I told him the "holiday weekend" made no difference to us and that despite his unwarranted statements concerning the Director and the FBI, I would sit down and talk to him.

Wilkins arrived at 4:00 p.m. He stated that he was greatly concerned. He made reference to the Director's Loyola speech last Tuesday, 11/24/64, in which the Director had made reference to "sexual degenerates" in pressure groups. Wilkins stated he personally knew about whom the Director was talking, although many other Negroes did not know. Wilkins added that he had received at least three newspaper inquiries during the past two days from individuals inquiring as to whether King was a sexual degenerate or not.

Wilkins told me that he personally did not mind seeing King ruined. He stated the important part of the matter, however, was the fact that if King was ruined the entire civil rights movement would be ruined. Wilkins stated that he personally knew that King was a "liar" and that he had little respect for him. He quoted an example of his wife stating last night at a Thanksgiving dinner with friends, upon being asked if she knew of the terrible things that "Edgar Hoover had said about Reverend King being a liar." Mrs. Wilkins replied, "This doesn't surprise me because King is a liar." Wilkins continued that while King is no good, his ruination will spell the downfall of the entire civil rights movement.

Wilkins told me that despite the truthfulness of the sexual degenerate allegations and communist allegations against King, many of his Negro associates.

- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

Enclosure

CC: SENT TO MR. TOLSON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11/16/2000 BY SP8 RVM/lmf

CONTINUED-OVER



DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

would jump to the defensive and defend King. On the other hand, however, many of the white people who believe in the civil rights movement and who yearly contribute from \$500 to \$50,000 to this movement will immediately cease their financial support. Wilkins added that the loss of financial support will be tremendous, however; the loss of faith in King by millions of Americans would be even worse. He stated the combination of the two would, of course, halt any further progress of the civil rights movement.

Wilkins told me that he and a number of the Negro leaders had attempted several months ago to get King to accept the presidency of a small college. He stated King had refused to do this because he was accustomed to the hypocrisy of adulation and to the money that was pouring in to him. He stated that King for some time now has received from \$500 to a \$1,000 per speech on the lecture circuit. He mentioned that King receives considerable support from wealthy Negro and white people alike. He stated that obviously the best thing that the Negro leaders could do now would be to get King to accept a position as Pastor of a large Negro church and thereby retire forever as a leader of the Negroes.

Wilkins stressed the fact that he was not seeing me as an emissary. He stated he had some influence on King but not much. He added that there were others within his movement who had greater influence and that perhaps together some pressure could be brought on King. Wilkins then added that he hoped that the FBI would not expose King before something could be done.

I interrupted Wilkins at this point. I told him that the Director, of course, did not have in mind the destruction of the civil rights movement as a whole. I told him the Director sympathized with the civil rights movement as exemplified by the Director's supervision of the FBI's many brilliant accomplishments in this field. I added, however, that we deeply and bitterly resented the lies and falsehoods told by King and that if King wanted war we certainly would give it to him. Wilkins shook his head and stated there was no doubt in his mind as to which side would lose if the FBI really came out with all of its ammunition against King. I told him the ammunition was plentiful and that while we were not responsible for the many rumors being initiated against King, we had heard of these rumors and were certainly in a position to substantiate them.

I told Wilkins that inasmuch as he was attempting to hold out the feather of peace he should know a few positive facts of life. He asked what I meant. I told him my point was that he was attempting to prevent the FBI from exposing King, yet certain highly-placed informants of ours had tipped us off to absolutely reliable information that King had organized a bitter crusade against the Director and the FBI. I told Wilkins these long-standing and well placed informants had advised us that King

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

had contacted people in various parts of the United States to get them to send telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, and the FBI asking for Mr. Hoover's retirement or resignation. I told Wilkins that King had also encouraged telegrams to be sent advising the FBI of laxness in the investigation of civil rights matters. I asked Wilkins how in the hell could he expect the FBI to believe his offers of friendship and request for peace when King was at this time attempting to ruin us. Wilkins merely hung his head and stated he had no idea that King was carrying on such a campaign. He stated that this upset him greatly and made him all the more determined to initiate action to remove King as soon as possible.

Wilkins stated that he had long noted King's sympathy toward the communist movement. He told me this obviously stemmed from Stanley Levinson's influence on King. Wilkins diverted from the subject of the conversation to spend some time in explaining that he had also noted communist influence in the civil rights movement in Mississippi. He stated that the cry of "Down with the Proletariat" was getting to be the battlecry of the militant Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama. He mentioned the same thing was true with respect to Negro allegations of laxness on the part of the FBI. He mentioned that the Negroes have been led by King and Bayard Rustin to believe that the FBI could do nothing right; consequently, FBI solution of civil rights cases made little impression upon some Negroes in the civil rights movement.

Wilkins stated he was wrong in his criticism of the Director. He added that he was attempting to accomplish, in a mild manner, a division between the battle of the Director and King and any phases of the battle which would reflect upon the civil rights movement. He stated he has a hard time controlling his 32-man Board of Directors, particularly since King is a member of this board. He then added, "We're hurting," and something must be done.

Wilkins told me that he will be lecturing in California most all of next week. He stated that before he leaves for the coast he will attempt to see King, along with other Negro leaders, and tell King that he can't possibly win in any battle with the FBI and that the best thing for him to do is to retire from public life. He stated he may not have any success in this regard, however, that he is convinced that the FBI can easily ruin King overnight, therefore, for the good of the civil rights cause King should make definite plans to leave public life and merely be Pastor of a Negro church in the future. I told Wilkins this, of course, was up to him; however, I wanted to reiterate once again most strongly, that if King wanted war we were prepared to give

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 11/27/64  
Re: Roy Wilkins, Appointment 11/27/64  
FBI Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

it to him and let the chips fall where they may. Wilkins stated this would be most disastrous, particularly to the Negro movement and that he hoped this would never come about. I told him that the monkey was on his back and that of the other Negro leaders. He stated he realized this. We then shook hands and he left to return to New York.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President in connection with the above conversation.

~~P~~

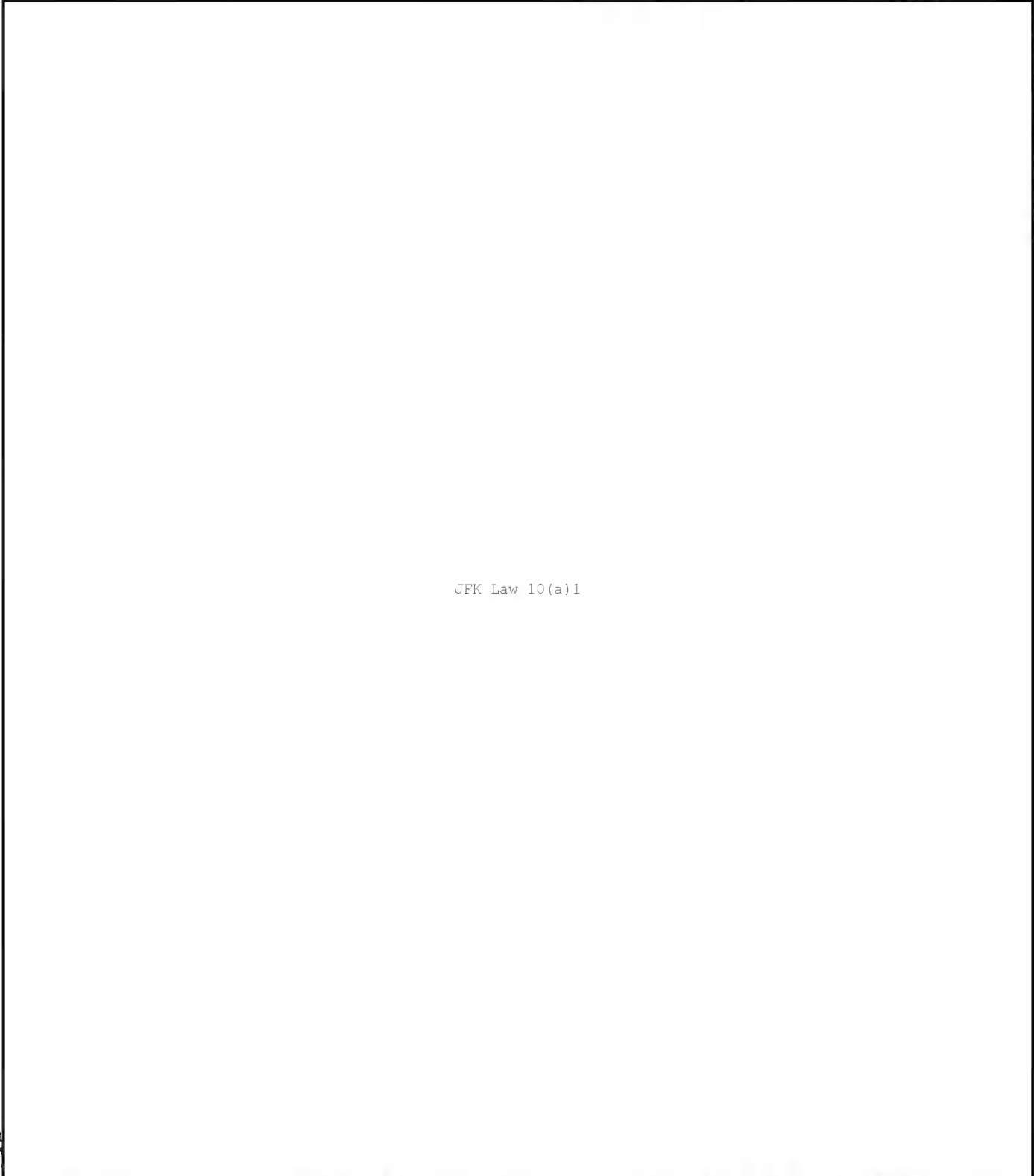
OR  
A

*[Handwritten signature]*

*Referred to Goldstein*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*1/8*



JFK Law 10(a)1

jas/mls  
enclosures

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

(CONTINUED - OVER)

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/16/2000 BY SP2 bjm/mc  
MDR-1b**

Memo to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

basis, information concerning King which would convince them of the danger of King to the over-all civil rights movement. Wilkins is already well aware of this. This group should include such leadership as would be capable of removing King from the scene if they, of their own volition, decided this was the thing to do after such a briefing. The group should include strong enough men to control a man like James Farmer and make him see the light of day. This might have the effect of increasing the stature of Roy Wilkins, who is a capable person and is ambitious.

There are refinements which, of course, could be added to the above which is set forth in outline form for possible consideration.

*Wesley*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

FROM : Legal Counsel *JMM/9K*

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

- 1 - Mr. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. Hotis
- DATE: 12/8/75
- 1 - Mr. Daly

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
 Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
 Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
 Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Training \_\_\_\_\_  
 Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

On 12/8/75, Paul Wallach, Senate Select Committee Staff Member, requested that former Special Agent Wallace R. Heitman be made available for Staff interview concerning his knowledge of Cuban groups in the Dallas area between mid-1963 until the end of 1963.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That former Special Agent Wallace R. Heitman be released from any existing employment agreement for purposes of interview by the Senate Select Committee.

(2) That the Intelligence Division determine the whereabouts of former Special Agent Heitman and inform him that he may be contacted by the Senate Select Committee for purposes of interview.

(3) That the Legal Counsel Division orally advise the Senate Select Committee of the whereabouts of former Special Agent Heitman.

1 - Personnel File - Wallace R. Heitman

*002 87*

*OK*

*EX-115*  
*REC-58*

*62-116375-1194*  
*DEC 16 1975*

*[Handwritten signature]*



lad (9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/16/2000 BY SP2 RUM/lmr

84 JAN 23 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Burns, Jr.

The Attorney General

December 8, 1975

Director, FBI

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Reference is made to the letter from the SSC dated November 7, 1975; to prior correspondence regarding the Joseph Kraft matter, to wit, FBI letters to the Attorney General, June 20, 1975, September 2, 1975, and October 7, 1975, enclosing memoranda to the SSC also dated June 20, 1975, September 2, 1975, and October 7, 1975, respectively; and to letter from the SSC dated July 28, 1975, and appendices thereto requesting documents and certain other information from the FBI.

Referenced November 7, 1975, SSC letter made a specific request for certain serials, with enclosures and attachments, contained in the Kraft file.

An existing agreement dated May 2, 1975, between the Attorney General and Mr. Kraft affords special treatment to portions of the material contained in the Kraft file. A number of the requested serials fall within the purview of such agreement and have been sealed while others, to wit, serials 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, and 21, of FBI file 65-75629 do not and may therefore be furnished to the SSC.

7 JAN 22 1976

It is requested that the Attorney General consider approving FBI access to the sealed Kraft material in order that the November 7, 1975, SSC request may be fully handled.

ENCLOSURE

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

The original of a memorandum along with the above-enumerated serials are being submitted herewith for your approval and forwarding to the Committee in partial response to the Committee's request in this matter. A response to the SSC regarding the remainder of the requested material is being held in abeyance pending receipt of your decision in this matter.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TEB:emc (9)

ROUTE IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/12/2000 BY SP2 ALM/AMC

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

The Attorney General

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished for your records along with a set of the materials to be considered for forwarding to the SSC. Also forwarded herewith for your retention and information is an excised copy of Serial 1 to which the SSC staff will be granted access, if they so desire, at a later date.

Enclosures (3)

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination



- 2 - Mr. A. Mintz  
(1 - J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Burns, Jr.

62-116395

December 8, 1975

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

**Re: SUPERSEDING REQUEST  
FOR FBI MATERIALS**

Reference is made to SSC letter to the Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination, Office of the Deputy Attorney General, dated July 28, 1975, with appendices attached thereto, requesting certain documents and other information from the FBI; to the Attorney General's letter to the SSC dated July 29, 1975; to memoranda to the SSC dated June 20, 1975, September 2, 1975, and October 7, 1975, concerning other responses in the Joseph Kraft matter; and to SSC letter to the Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination, Office of the Deputy Attorney General, dated November 7, 1975.

Pursuant to the request in the referenced SSC letter dated November 7, 1975, for delivery of specified serials in the Joseph Kraft file, we are delivering with this memorandum Xeroxes of serials 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, and 21, of FBI file 65-75629. Serial 1 of such file was also requested; however, is not being furnished herewith since it neither mentions Joseph Kraft nor does it have any apparent relation to the Kraft matter. Its inclusion in the Kraft file appears to have resulted from a clerical error in serialization. Access to such serial will be afforded for purposes of verification should the SSC staff so desire.

The remaining serials which were requested in referenced November 7, 1975, SSC letter, have previously been sealed in accordance with the May 2, 1975, agreement between Joseph Kraft and the Attorney General. Such serials were previously determined to be covered by the agreement insofar as they constituted, summarized, or described the contents of overhearing regarding the electronic surveillance of Joseph Kraft.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TEB:emc  
(9)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 RMT/MLC  
ON 11/17/2000

**ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**

ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY TO AG  
MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

MOX-16

This document contains information which is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
JMB  
JWH  
V D  
woc  
NB

Re: U. S. Senate Select Committee to  
Study Governmental Operations with  
Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)

Application has been made by the FBI to the Attorney General requesting that the Attorney General consider approving FBI access to the sealed Kraft material in connection with the November 7, 1975, request. The SSC will be advised of further developments in this matter.

Also forwarded herewith for your ready reference is a copy of the May 2, 1975, agreement between Mr. Kraft and the Attorney General.

1 - The Attorney General

NOTE:

~~SECRET~~

The subject of above SSC inquiry, Joseph Kraft, is the well-known newspaper columnist. A review of the Kraft file reveals that the French Security Service, the DST, conducted a microphone surveillance on Kraft's hotel room for approximately one week during a 1969 visit by Kraft to Paris. Such coverage was effected through the urging of W. C. Sullivan, former FBI Assistant to the Director, who traveled to France at such time, apparently at the direction of deceased FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Details of the above coverage have appeared in the media apparently as a result of leaks within the administration of former President Nixon. Kraft himself testified in detail 5/10/74, regarding this matter before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Subcommittee on Surveillance of the Committee on Foreign Relations. We have previously responded to earlier requests of the SSC in the memoranda of 6/20/75, 9/2/75, and 10/7/75, wherein we advised that no authorization per se could be located for the 1969 electronic surveillance of Kraft during a visit to France and provided the SSC with access to selected serials which provided a summary of the Kraft material.

~~SECRET~~

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 3

Re: U. S. Senate Select Committee to  
Study Governmental Operations with  
Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)

NOTE - CONTINUED

~~SECRET~~

We previously reviewed the sealed portion of the Kraft file under authority of the Attorney General, in connection with our 9/2/75 response to the SSC; however, the unsealed material was resealed following review. While it may be possible to interpret the previous authority to open the sealed portion of the file as an implied authority to reopen it in connection with this request, it is felt that the more judicious procedure is to secure a new authority from the AG as requested within. Serial 1 referred to in the memorandum to the SSC was a personal note from Legat, Paris, to Mr. Hoover and concerns reported adulterous behavior on the part of Nicole Salinger, wife of Pierre Salinger, the former Press Secretary to President Kennedy. A copy of the 11/7/75 SSC request is attached to the file copy of the enclosed letterhead memorandum. Exact copies of the materials being furnished are maintained in the office of the Senstudy 75 project. Arrangements have been made for a representative of the Legal Counsel Division to deliver the attached memorandum as well as the materials being provided to the SSC. This note has been classified "Secret" in order to protect the confidentiality of our relationship with the French Security Service, the disclosure of which could reasonably be expected to result in serious damage to national security. ~~Classified by 6283, XGDS-1, Indefinite.~~

*Soc/16*  
~~SECRET~~

5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

LTR  LHM  Memo  Report dated 12/8/75

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE.

Caption of Document:

11/7/75 request - Joseph Kraft

Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by: J.O. Stassinos Date: 1/13/76

Received by: J. Hoben

Title: Chief Mail Clerk

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/17/2000 BY SP2 am/mt  
MDR-16

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:  
**FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT     BRIEFING     INTERVIEW     TESTIMONY     OTHER

12/8/75

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

SSC

HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum and enclosures**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**SSC letter 11/7/75**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

~~TS~~

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Information handling**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

**Materials relating to Joseph Kraft.**

**62-116395**

FMK:fmk  
(4)

**ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75**

**TREAT AS YELLOW**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/1/00 BY SP2 RUM/mf  
MOR-16

*5-778*

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

Re: SSC request November 7, 1975.  
For retention with yellow of  
letter and LHM dated December 8, 1975,  
concerning the Kraft matter.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/20/2006 BY SP2 BLM/lmf  
MOR-14

SECRET

Paris, France  
March 13, 1969

Joseph Kraft  
Leak of Information  
ESPIONAGE

Dear Mr. Hoover:

JUNE

I thought you might be interested in the following information regarding Nicole Salinger, the French wife of Pierre Salinger, the former press secretary to President Kennedy.

Information has been received from an excellent source, who is in a position to know, that she is the mistress of Abdel Kader Ben Barka, the brother of Mehdi Ben Barka, whom you may recall, was the victim of a kidnaping and assassination which became a major scandal in France. Mehdi Ben Barka was a communist who was the opposition leader against the Moroccan Government. His kidnaping and assassination were believed to have been politically inspired.

According to the source, the contacts between Mrs. Salinger and Ben Barka are not difficult since Salinger has his business headquarters in London and is in practically a constant travel status in Europe. He is the president of a rather recently formed international finance operation known as Gramco, which has its headquarters in Nassau, Bahama Islands. Our source advised that Nicole Salinger recently arranged a rendezvous with Ben Barka, stating that her husband was leaving that afternoon for London and would be gone for a couple of days.

Also, during the recent visit of President Nixon, Ben Barka attempted to learn minutes of secret conversations between Nixon and President De Gaulle through Nicole Salinger, who said she would "do her best."

[The source of the above information is one Joseph Mansfield, a former Army Counterintelligence Corps agent, who has been a contact of this office for many years. He is presently retired from the military service, has settled down in the Paris area, and operates a private investigative

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

~~65-75085-331~~

NOT RECORDED

JUN 12 1973  
CLASSIFIED BY SP2 am/ml  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 6  
MOR-16

JUN 13 1973

SECRET

File 5-TSS  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SENSITIVE  
FOREIGN  
INTELLIGENCE  
SOURCE

INDEX

SEE FILES  
65-75085-331  
65-75085-331



SECRET

(S) service. (S) [One of his part-time investigators is an agent of the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (French domestic counterespionage service), whose official assignment is to monitor a technical surveillance on Arab establishments. It appears that this individual is the source of the above information and that it comes from an official technical surveillance on Ben Barka.] (S)

Of course, it is very unlikely that Nicole Salinger would be in a position to obtain any confidential information regarding conversations between De Gaulle and Nixon.

Mansfield requested that we be particularly careful in handling this information and that neither he nor his source be identified. In view of the delicate nature of the source, it is being furnished only for your information since I thought this may be of interest to you.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Norman W. Philcox

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

cc: Mr. William C. Sullivan  
Assistant Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

*Dear Bill - I don't think this could be disseminated without endangering the source.*

SECRET<sup>2</sup> -

*W.P.*

~~TOP SECRET~~  
DO NOT FILE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

June 30, 1969

*Joseph Kraft*

Mr. Hoover:

JUNE

Instead of taking up your time giving you a very report, I will set out briefly the basic facts in this note relative to my European trip.

First, I am sure you would want to know how very, very willing and cooperative this high-ranking official was. The moment I arrived I called for an appointment with him and was given it immediately. It was obvious he had to work me in before others scheduled to see him because they were in his outer office when I went through. He was too gracious, however, to mention it.

Second, I presented directly the request and predicated it on my reason to believe that this person could be in contact with the Soviets and it was necessary to determine one way or the other. Giving it this predication I thought would make our position much more valid and secure. He told me they would do it for us without any hesitation. Parenthetically, I might add that such a cover is regarded as illegal. However, he made no mention of this and they do it all the time. He pointed out that if this man is living at a hotel or an apartment where complicated switchboards are involved, there would be some technical problems. I told him that I understood this. He assured me that if it is technically possible to do it, it would be done and if it required solving a problem, it would be solved if at all possible.

Third, as it was necessary for this official to have this man located, the situation analyzed, and the equipment put in use, I decided not to stay for a day or so to get a sampling of the product. If it could have been put on immediately, I would, of course, have stayed around a day to see what it would be like.

Fourth, I instructed our Legat concerning the sensitivity of this matter and made arrangements that the product can be so handled that the girls in his office will not know about it at all. I also told him he was not, under any condition, to ever discuss this with anyone back here at the Seat of Government. He is a competent professional and can be relied upon in this matter.

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP2 am/mt*  
ON 11/20/2000  
*map-16*

~~TOP SECRET~~ REC  
DO NOT FILE 65-75629-2  
65-75075-332

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

NOT RECORDED  
JUN 13 1973

JUN 13 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~DO NOT FILE~~

Fifth, the material will be sent directly to me without any mention of the individual's name. I will arrange securely for the translation here and then get the material to you immediately in order that you will be able to handle it directly with the gentleman to whom you alluded in our conversation.

Sixth, the high-ranking official with whom I dealt suggested that we might want to give consideration at the end of this operation to listening to the tape with one of his translators to see if they had overlooked anything significant, which he said could happen because they know nothing about this person's background, contacts, etc. He said that if it were possible he would send the tape over here but this is not possible because they have an unbreakable rule that the tape can't be taken out of this clandestine central headquarters where the work is done and if it were removed, it would cause considerable wonderment and speculation. However, he said he could safely and securely have me enter a portion of this area to listen if I thought it necessary. I told him this was a decision which could be faced after the product was examined carefully and that then you would make the decision.

Respectfully submitted,

*Wes X*  
William C. Sullivan

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~DO NOT FILE~~

6/30/69

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

*Lam*

1-Liaison

TO LEGAT PARIS  
FROM DIRECTOR FBI  
CATO.

JUNE

PERSON IN QUESTION MAY BE IN CARE OF WILLIAM STONEMAN, CARE OF "CHICAGO DAILY NEWS" OFFICE, PARIS. ALSO HIS LOCATION MAY BE KNOWN TO HAROLD KAPLAN, AMERICAN EMBASSY, PARIS. OF COURSE, THESE TWO CANNOT BE ASKED ABOUT SUBJECT OF INQUIRY. INDIRECTLY THIS INFORMATION MAY GIVE LEAD. HANDLE WITH EXTREME CARE. CALL W. C. SULLIVAN EARLY A.M., JULY ONE NEXT RE THIS MATTER, BUT DO NOT MENTION ABOVE NAMES.

*Lam*

DJB:hc  
(4)

~~Handwritten signature~~

VIA TELETYPE  
JUN 30 1969  
658 VXC  
ENCIPHERED

*WCS*

*292*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by you and all the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gate \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 13 1973

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11/30/2000 BY Sp2 nlm/lmf  
MOR-16

65-75629-3  
~~65-75085-333~~  
NOT RECORDED

JUN 13 1973

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

DO NOT FILE

July 2, 1969

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Joseph Kraft

JUNE

I heard from Legat Philcox this morning. In regard to the man in Paris in whom we are interested, the facts are these:

1) He registered at the hotel on June 29 and as previously indicated plans to leave next Monday. He has no regular assignment in Paris and comes and goes throughout Europe.

2) Because of the hotel he is staying in and the elaborate switchboard, it is not possible to put a telephone surveillance on his room extension.

3) I told Philcox to push the French and see if we could get a microphone in his room. This they are trying to do. The question was raised as to whether they should take anyone at the hotel into confidence should it be necessary in order to place the installation. I said no do not take anyone into confidence at the hotel.

I am following this matter very closely and you will be kept advised.

Respectfully submitted,

*W. C. Sullivan*  
W. C. Sullivan

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

REC-100

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~~65-75025-336~~  
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ON 11/20/2000

mdc-6

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JUN 13 1973

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JUN 3 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~

DO NOT FILE

~~SECRET~~

July 3, 1969

JUNE

Joseph Kraft

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Dear Mr. Hoover:

This is to advise you that the French have overcome some very difficult operational problems and have installed a microphone in this fellow's room. As I mentioned yesterday the elaborate switchboard prevents using a telephone surveillance. (S)

Just as soon as they get an adequate product, it will be sent into me immediately and I will handle the translation under very secure conditions.

You will kept promptly advised of developments.

Respectfully submitted,

Bill Sullivan  
W. C. Sullivan

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X b  
MDR-16

REC/

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

65-75629-1  
~~65-75085-337~~  
NOT RECORDED

JUN 13 1973

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~~TOP SECRET~~

JUN 13 1973

~~TOP SECRET~~

DO NOT FILE

~~SECRET~~

July 7, 1969

Joseph O Kraft

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Dear Mr. Hoover:

JIVE

In regard to the sensitive coverage in Paris, I have followed this throughout the week-end with our Legat. There is nothing direct we can say on the telephone, but by double-talking we can communicate. (S)

The French were successful in installing the microphone and they have the product, the Legat said, extending to the time of this man's departure from Paris. He was to leave either last night or this morning. (S)

The tape is on its way to me and should arrive tomorrow. I will have it immediately and very securely translated and the results given you. The Legat was able to say one thing and that is that this person has been in touch with the Soviets in Paris presumably in connection with his coming visit to Russia.

SENSITIVE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION

Respectfully submitted,

*William C. Sullivan*  
William C. Sullivan

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

REC/s m

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 6  
m de-16

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~~SECRET~~

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~~65-75629-338~~  
NOT RECORDED

JUN 13 1973

JUN 13 1973

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

1-Original  
1-yellow

July 30, 1969

PERSONAL

JUNE

Mr. Jean Rochet  
Director  
Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire  
11 rue des Saussaies  
75 Paris 8, France

Joseph Kraft

Dear Mr. Rochet:

I wish to allude to the occasion of the trip, at my instructions, of Mr. William C. Sullivan in the recent past. Words are inadequate to express my appreciation for the unprecedented and remarkably efficient assistance which you rendered this Bureau. Well do I realize the obstacles which you had to overcome and the professionalism and tenacity of purpose that were required in order to be successful in this effort.

May I through you also express my deep appreciation to Mr. Desire Parente, who I understand played a key role in the effectiveness of this particular mission. It must be most reassuring to you to have such able men about you.

You may be certain that I am most willing to reciprocate your valuable assistance at any time in the future.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,

REC-111

65-75629-21

~~65-75629-35~~

NOT RECORDED

JUN 13 1973

*Sent to Mr. Tolson  
JUL 1 1969  
10/24/69*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/21/2000 BY SP2 RUM/DMC

WCS:m1s mdr-1b

1 (1-Legat, Paris, under separate cover)

JUN 13 1973

SENT FOR APPROVAL  
7-30-69

SENSITIVE  
FOREIGN  
INTELLIGENCE  
SOURCE

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_





Office of the Attorney General  
Washington, D. C. 20530

May 2, 1975

Lloyd N. Cutler, Esquire  
Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering  
1666 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Cutler:

Pursuant to our discussions concerning the disposition of certain records relating to the surveillance activities directed at your client, Mr. Joseph Kraft, the Department is making the following temporary arrangements:

1. Pending further Departmental action relating to the policies which will govern records of the type involved in Mr. Kraft's case, all documents, recordings, or other records of any type in the Department's custody or control which constitute, summarize, or describe the contents of the over-hearings obtained as the result of any electronic surveillance directed against Mr. Kraft and members of his family will be placed under seal.
2. As long as the items described above remain under seal, no official or employee of the Department will have access to them for any purpose; and no official or employee of the Department will allow any person outside of the Department to have any such access, except as described below. The only material referring to these items will be a single index card needed to locate the sealed items. The index card will bear only Mr. Kraft's name and a file number.
3. Should some future need which we do not now foresee require any official or employee of the Department to obtain or permit access to the aforesaid items, the decision on such access shall be made personally by the Attorney General. The Attorney General shall not grant any access without notifying Mr. Kraft or his counsel in writing at least ten days prior thereto, and providing him or

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*62-117-67*  
*ENCLOSURE*

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/11/00 BY SP8 BMM/jmf  
MAR-16

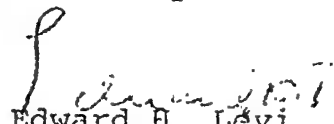
them an opportunity to discuss the matter personally with the Attorney General before the grant is made. The notice shall set forth the date upon which access will be permitted if it is granted, and the purpose for which and person by whom access is sought. The Attorney General will personally inform Mr. Kraft or his counsel of a decision to grant access as soon as practicable after it is made, but in any event at least five business days before access occurs.

4. Although this arrangement is not intended to constitute a permanent solution to the questions you have raised concerning these documents, it will not be rescinded or modified by the Attorney General or his successors unless the Attorney General gives Mr. Kraft or his counsel ten days' prior notice and affords him or them an opportunity to discuss the matter personally with the Attorney General before he rescinds or modifies the agreement. If the Attorney General then decides to rescind or modify this agreement he shall personally inform Mr. Kraft or his counsel of that decision at least five business days before it is implemented.

As a result of our discussions, I understand that this temporary arrangement is acceptable to Mr. Kraft, of course without waiver of any legal rights he may have as a result of prior surveillances. As I advised you, we are working now on general policy determinations which, we hope, will offer a permanent solution to the problem this settles temporarily. Of course, under the terms of this agreement we will notify you of any policy determination which would involve a modification of this agreement.

Until a final policy is determined, this agreement should assure Mr. Kraft that no person will read or otherwise use these documents in any manner so long as they remain under the seal arrangement.

Sincerely,

  
Edward H. Levi  
Attorney General



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

*Deputy*

NOV 10 1975

TO: John A. Mintz, Assistant Director  
Legal Counsel Division  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

*Mike*

FROM: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for Intelligence  
Coordination

SUBJECT: Senate Select Committee Request

Attached is a Senate Select Committee request seeking additional materials pertaining to Joseph Kraft. Please prepare an appropriate response. This office shall effect transmittal after Mr. Jack Fuller of the Attorney General's office has reviewed these additional materials with Mr. Kraft's attorney, Mr. Lloyd Cutler.

cc: Jack Fuller  
Paul Daly

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DATE 11/01/2009 BY SP0A/m/lmc  
m OR-16

*Five - Bill*

*Let to AG dated 11/28/75 with enc. Counsel memorandum to the SSC prepared by TEB:emc*



FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEXAS, VICE CHAIRMAN

PHILIP A. HART, MICH.

WALTER F. MONDALT, MINN.

WALTER F. Huddleston, KY.

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CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR., MD.

RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

WILLIAM G. MILLER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWANZ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL  
CURTIS R. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNSEL

## United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 94TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 7, 1975

Michael E. Shaheen, Jr., Esq.  
Office of Deputy Attorney General  
Room 4313  
U.S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mike:

By letter of July 28, 1975, the Senate Select Committee requested delivery of "materials pertaining to the reported investigation of columnist Joseph Kraft in 1969, other than the 'logs' of any surveillance" (Part III-A).

On October 22, 1975, the SSC received a portion of these materials. Numerous serials in the FBI file on surveillance of Mr. Kraft were not included in the materials received, however, apparently because of a difference in interpretation of the term "logs." Request for delivery is specifically made, therefore, for the following serials (with enclosures and attachments) in FBI file 65-75629: Serials #1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24.

Excluded from this request are the logs of any surveillance, by which the SSC means transcripts of overhears. A memorandum from A. B. Fulton to W. R. Wannall, "Subject: Lloyd N. Cutler, Attorney for Joseph Kraft," dated June 10, 1975, which was provided to the SSC on October 22, 1975, notes that "the only transcripts of the overhears which were located are contained as an enclosure to 65-75629-16." Our request, therefore, does not encompass this enclosure. Summaries of information obtained from any surveillance of Mr. Kraft, however, are specifically included in our request.

We are cognizant of the agreement between Mr. Cutler and the Attorney General with regard to materials pertaining to the reported investigation of Joseph Kraft, and our request is made subject to the conditions of this agreement.

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DATE 11/21/00 BY SP2 RLM/lmf

MOR-16

Michael E. Shaheen, Jr., Esq.  
Page Two

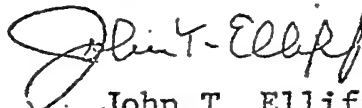
November 7, 1975

In addition to the materials described above, the following materials are also requested for delivery to the Committee:

1. All materials pertaining to the opening of mail to or from Gilbert Stuart and Virginia R. Stuart during the years 1960 and 1961, by FBI agents in or around the cities of New York and Providence, Rhode Island. (This request encompasses materials located in FBI Headquarters, the New York Field Office, and the Resident Agency in Providence, Rhode Island.)

2. All materials pertaining to contacts by FBI and Department of Justice officials and agents with Committee members or staff members of the so-called "Long Committee" (the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Senate Judiciary Committee) in regard to that Committee's investigation in 1965 into the use of mail covers and other investigative techniques by federal agencies.

Sincerely,



John T. Elliff  
Director  
Domestic Intelligence Task Force

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. R. Wannall *Wannall*

FROM : F. J. Cassidy *F. J. Cassidy*

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

DATE: 12/8/75

- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. F. J. Cassidy
- 1 - Mr. D. Ryan

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. *Wannall*
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

This is to advise of a briefing afforded staff members of the Senate Select Committee (SSC) on 12/1/75 regarding FBI notional organizations.

Mike Epstein and Barbara Banoff of the SSC staff were referred to Supervisor David Ryan of the Intelligence Division for this briefing by the Senstudy Unit. Epstein opened the meeting by requesting he be provided a detailed summary regarding FBI activities involving proprietary, fictional and notional organizations. Ryan advised this was a broad area and requested Epstein be specific. Epstein asked that the three types of operations be defined and examples provided.

Ryan described proprietary organizations as usually of a commercial enterprise character that are used to support or cover covert intelligence activities. Epstein was advised Ryan had no knowledge of the use of proprietary organizations in connection with the investigation of domestic subversive or extremist organizations although it was possible such operations were used in our criminal and foreign counterintelligence investigations. Epstein was advised fictional organizational titles had been used infrequently for limited duration in connection with mailings utilized in the discontinued Counterintelligence Programs (Cointelpros). Notional organizations were described as involving the use of an organizational title supported by a post office box address and/or operating sources for

*62-116395-1193*

REC-58

DEC 17 1975

EX-115

CONTINUED - OVER

Enclosure  
62-116395

DR:lfj 19j  
(10)

*5-116395-1193*

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DATE 11/16/2000 BY SP2 RUM/MLK  
mde-16

84 DEC 23 1975

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall  
Re: Senstudy 75  
62-116395

intelligence-gathering purposes. In response to his specific question, Epstein was advised Ryan was not aware of any current use of a notional organization targeted against domestic extremists or subversive organizations.

Epstein questioned regarding the use of notional Marxist-Leninist organizations. Ryan indicated this technique had been used in the foreign counterintelligence field in the past with some success, but that he would not comment regarding the current use of notional organizations in connection with our foreign counterintelligence responsibilities. Epstein persisted in seeking this information and he was advised by Ryan if he desired further details, he should submit his request in writing through proper channels. (It is noted we currently have one notional organization operating with the objective of uncovering Chinese communist political and intelligence thrusts against this country).

Thereafter, Epstein and Banoff asked a number of specific questions relating to the FBI's use of notional or fictitious titles in connection with its security investigations and responses were provided as noted in the attached.

Epstein indicated a specific interest in the use of a notional organization in connection with the investigation of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). He asked whether such techniques were used at the beginning of the interview, during the middle of the interview, and at the interview's conclusion. In the first two instances, he was advised Ryan had no knowledge of the use of this technique in the SWP investigation, and in the instance of the third question Ryan indicated it was repetitive. Ryan received the impression Epstein was dissatisfied with the briefing.

ACTION:

None. For information.

*Jan K*  
*wren Hill*  
*PLA*  
*JAN*  
*90F*  
*W*

## FBI NOTIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The following comments were furnished to Senate Select Committee staff members Mike Epstein and Barbara Banoff on 12/1/75 regarding specific areas of possible interest as relates to notional organizations.

### W. E. B. DuBois Clubs

In July, 1964, the New York Office suggested establishing a notional chapter of this organization which was in effect at the time the youth group of the Communist Party, USA. The suggestion of the New York Office was furnished to other offices, two of which disagreed with the proposal. Review of our files has determined this proposal was never effected.

### Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

No information has been located indicating a notional organization with operating informants was ever formed or considered for use in connection with the investigation of the SWP or other Trotskyite organizations.

### Committee for Expansion of Socialist Thought in America (CESTA)

In 1965 the CESTA operation was approved as an effort to attack the Southern California District Communist Party for its lack of democracy and rigid interpretation of Marxism-Leninism utilizing a Post Office box return address. A number of issues of the CESTA publication "Socialist Dialogue" was mailed to local Communist Party

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DATE 11/16/00 BY SP2 ALM/lmf  
MDR-16

62-116375-1193

ENCLOSURE



members. By late 1967 the operation had been terminated. Although it is impossible to completely assess the results of this operation, — suspicions and dissension was generated within the local Party district, and in later months widespread defections in the Party were noted.

#### Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (CKKKK)

In 1967 an influential informant in the United Klans of America (UKA) became involved in a dispute with the UKA and subsequently defected from the group, establishing the CKKKK. The field suggested the CKKKK, through its informant-leader, be directed to cause dissension and defections in the UKA. The field also suggested a second informant be directed to set up an anti-UKA "Citizens Council" consisting of defected UKA members. FBIHQ refused to authorize any monies to be paid to the informant to finance the CKKKK or to authorize the second informant to establish an anti-UKA "Citizens Council." Our informant's activities in the CKKKK, until the organization's demise in 3/70, contributed to the crippling of the UKA although his efforts were not part of a notional organization directed by the FBI.

#### Red Star Cadre (RSC)

Former FBI informant Joseph Burton was the prime mover behind the RSC which had for its objective the development of intelligence relating to CHICOM liaison with and influence of the domestic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement. The RSC evolved from the Red Star Swap Shop, an effort developed by Burton entirely on his own, and continued generally from late 1972 until the summer of 1974. Burton was unable to establish contact with significant foreign pro-Maoist communists and he voluntarily ceased his duties in behalf of the FBI when he was rejected by the Revolutionary Union, the leading domestic pro-Maoist-Marxist-Leninist organization.

### Red Collective

This title was utilized by two former New Orleans informants, Jill and Gi Schafer, during the approximate period 1972-73 to support their widespread contacts with subversives and extremists. No other informants participated and the use of the title was disbanded at the instructions of FBIHQ.

### Antiwar or "Peace" Covers

The use of titles relating to the antiwar or peace effort was considered in the late 1960's to assist our sources in developing contacts abroad. One informant's association with the antiwar effort was of assistance in establishing contact with a hostile foreign communist government and valuable intelligence resulted. Other sources utilized their actual or alleged association with antiwar or peace groups to support their travel abroad to participate in international conferences under the influence of communist elements or to contact communist elements abroad. No formal antiwar or peace group was formed by the FBI as a notional organization for intelligence collection.

### News Media Covers

An informant who was active with a domestic newspaper supporting a foreign hostile communist country and a photographer who had broad association with domestic extremists were considered in connection with the establishment of possible notional organizations to be targeted against foreign communist elements. These efforts never came to fruition.

### National Committee for Domestic Tranquility

In the mid-1960's, the above title and a Post Office box was utilized for several anonymous mailings to Ku Klux Klan organizations. The newsletters urged Klan members to desist from violence and renounce their affiliation based upon patriotic, religious and moral motives. No informants were included in the operation.

### Miscellaneous

No significant notional organizations targeting domestic extremist groups were developed in the New Left area, including the Students for a Democratic Society, or relating to militant black extremists such as the Black Panther Party.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : MR. ASH *ASH*

DATE: 11/19/75

FROM : E. F. Johnson *E.F.J.*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING

*for study*

## LATENT PRINT EXAMINATION

A letter beginning "King, in view of your low grade, ---" has been examined, but no latent impressions of value for identification purposes were developed.

The letter is enclosed.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/25/80 BY SP 3 DB/dkc/...

### RECOMMENDATION:

That memo with enclosure be forwarded to Inspector-Deputy Assistant Director Hunter E. Helgeson.

Enclosure

*62-116395-*

NOT RECORDED  
191 DEC 29 1975

*H. Helgeson*  
*12-29-75*  
*NOV 29 1975*

1 - Inspector-Deputy Assistant Director Hunter E. Helgeson

*lsg*  
*(4)*

*JCP*

*PHH*

*Records*  
*cc 62-116395*

*file 5 P20*  
*100-106670*

*Letter returned to Sullivan marks contained in file down 11/19/75*

ORIGINAL FILED IN  
CONFIDENTIAL